

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1876.

The Week.

THE elections in Ohio and Indiana took place on Tuesday, but, as we go to press, nothing positive can be said as regards the result in either State. Just before the close of the canvass in Indiana, Mr. Anson Wolcott, the nominee of the greenback party for governor, withdrew from the canvass, advising the greenback men to vote the Republican ticket. This withdrawal was immediately followed by charges of fraud and treason, the Democrats declaring that Mr. Wolcott must have been bought up with Republican money. The chairman of the Republican State Committee was thereupon obliged to come out with a card denying all acquaintance or communication with Mr. Wolcott, and declaring that neither he nor any other member of the committee had been engaged in bribing the greenback candidate. Immediately on the withdrawal a new candidate was put in the field, but at the same time it was announced that his nomination was irregular.

The doubt in which the election returns from Colorado have been involved for the past week arose, no doubt, in great measure from the determination of both parties to affect the minds of voters in Ohio and Indiana. The result of the election does not merely show the "drift of opinion," but it gives three electoral votes to the party which carries the legislature. The population is not of the highest or most cultivated order, and owing to the thinly-settled character of the country and the remoteness of large districts from railroads and telegraphs, the real vote comes in slowly. The newspaper vote, it is hardly necessary to say, comes in with remarkable rapidity, and a week ago the Republican papers were able to announce a majority of 2,600, which must have been arrived at by guess-work, as the number of votes actually cast by Republicans and Democrats in most of the counties was entirely unknown. The Democratic papers, by aid of the same returns, made out a fair majority for themselves. After a week's telegraphing, and much earnest thinking as to counties not heard from, the Republican majority was reduced to about 1,248; the Democrats, however, still claiming the State by a majority of 218.

The "charges" of the past week have not been as interesting as heretofore. The *Times* has unearthed some new rascalities of Tilden's which it calls the "Brady's Bend Swindle," and shows how he "deliberately wrecked a railroad and a thriving community," and how he tried to "tempt an honorable superintendent with \$50,000 of stock." We regret to see, however, that the *Times* takes no notice of the *World's* "Campaign Supplement" exposing the piratical career of the Republican candidate for Governor. The silence of Governor Morgan, we must remind the *Times*, is pretty good proof of the truth of the charges. Among the minor incidents of the week has been the request by General Dix of Mr. John Foley for proof of Mr. Tilden's want of sympathy for the anti-Ring movement in this city, and of his absence from the great anti-Ring mass-meeting in 1871, and the reply of Mr. Foley that he has no proof to give, always having considered Mr. Tilden one of the most efficient enemies of the Ring. He adds that the reason why Mr. Tilden was absent from the meeting in question was because he was engaged in anti-Ring work elsewhere, intimating that if General Dix can explain his (General Dix's) absence it would be well at once to do so, and finally declares that Tilden is the candidate for whom he intends to vote at the coming election. Mr. John Y. Foster, who will be remembered as having cut a conspicuous figure some months ago in connection with Mr. Blaine, has informed the public that some time in 1863 he

was employed by the *Evening Post* to make his way to the meeting of a secret conclave at Delmonico's; that he did so, notwithstanding the obstacles thrown in his way by the "negro waiters," and then found Mr. Tilden engaged, like a second Catiline, with some prominent Copperheads and Secessionists, plotting the ruin of his country. This story Mr. Parke Godwin denies, saying that Mr. Foster went to this meeting with a ticket of invitation, and showing that his account must be largely imaginary, on account of the introduction of negro waiters in a place where it is notorious that they never are employed.

The Democratic papers continue to make a good deal of Mr. Hayes's letter to the American Alliance, and try to make him out a Know-Nothing, which is probably the height of absurdity. Mr. Schurz has found it necessary to take up the subject on the stump and explain that the letter was probably a mere "routine" letter, such as every politician writes to people who say they are ready to support him, and meant nothing. In our opinion, the moral to be drawn from the case is a slightly different one from that drawn by the newspapers of either party. The "American Alliance" is a political organization which has been in existence for some months, has held a convention and drawn up a platform, which has been published in the newspapers, and which we some time since commented upon in these columns. Everybody in the country, therefore, had notice of its existence and of its character, particularly every one in public life, just as much as every one had of the existence of the Woman Suffragists, the Prohibitionists, or the Grangers, when those parties were first set on foot. Now, under these circumstances, whether the Alliance has a large membership or a small one, or whether Mr. L. S. Tyler, the secretary, is a real person or a myth, is of little or no consequence; but it is of consequence that any one who receives a promise from them of political support should, before thanking them and promising them "co-operation," make up his mind whether he wants their support or not, and whether they ought to have the "co-operation" of his friends. Presidential candidates have no business to write "routine" letters accepting nominations from people they do not know anything about, any more than Congressmen have a right to give "routine" letters of recommendation to people whom they do not mean to recommend. Any one who wants to be a candidate of the "American Alliance" can be so; but, in that case, it is his business to tell us so, and not first accept their support and then assure us that it has no meaning. All proceedings of this kind have a tendency to increase the present prevailing disbelief in the meaning of all platforms, party professions and principles, and are on that account demoralizing.

Judge Hoar has accepted the independent nomination in the Seventh Massachusetts District, in a letter in which he reviews General Butler's character and present position at some length; expresses the conviction that he is an unfit candidate for representation in a canvass in which the party is "pledged to a radical reform of the civil service and a speedy return to specie payments"; suggests that "when a public servant cannot bring a character from his last place it is wise to use some caution in accepting his advances to a new engagement, however pressing"; recalls the fact that at a late State convention, at which Butler appeared at the head of his forces trying to get himself nominated as governor, "it was only after they had been detected in a large amount of double voting" that the general yielded his claim; that he boasted to two of his colleagues in Washington in 1874 that "he knew what they were telegraphing," as "he had a man that read them on the wires by the click," and that the House of Representatives had to pass a resolution to protect the telegraph from his depredations. He also points out that General Butler is at variance with his party on two at least of its most important principles; being in favor of paying the debt in

greenbacks, and opposed, as he has admitted, to providing for a speedy return to specie payments, though nominally acquiescing. As to the civil service, he is "not only a scoffer at the whole of it, but the most conspicuous example of those who make the holding of public office the reward of personal adhesion and personal service." His nomination, and the appearance of his name on the State Committee, Judge Hear reminds his adherents, are doing the party "incalculable harm throughout the country." Even on the question of equal rights and the enforcement of the amendments, he thinks that putting Butler in office is not a help but a hindrance, inasmuch as the cause of the present straits to which the party finds itself reduced is "the deep-seated and wide-spread dissatisfaction excited at the North at the Sanborn moieties, salary grabs, the bargains, contracts, office-jobbing, and caucus-packing which occur to every man's mind when General Butler's name is mentioned in connection with politics." The general has been made very savage by all this, and he is said to be contemplating as a piece of revenge a general order to his followers to scratch the name of the regular nominee for governor.

Butler seems to have handed over his old congressional district to his faithful friend and ally, Dr. George B. Loring, who has just received the Republican nomination. Dr. Loring is one of the leading representatives of "Butlerism" in the State, and it would probably be hard to find a politician of either party who has inspired a more thorough political distrust wherever he is known than he. He is, like Butler, one of the Democrats who came over to the Republican party when they found it for their advantage, and has been ever since a persistent wire-puller, pipe-layer, and office-seeker. He now declares that he is in favor of civil-service reform, which is very much as if Butler were to come out for it himself; though it may be also considered a gratifying sign, as being in the nature of the homage which vice is said to pay to virtue. The Civil-service Reform Club of Boston, is, we observe, doing some excellent work in forcing all the candidates for congressional seats to declare their intentions as to civil-service reform. This is the only way to make sure of them. But no mere declaration of intention on their part will be sufficient. The civil service will never be reformed until positive legislation secures in some way those in the employ of the Government against dismissal for political opinion. Promises on the part of Congressmen not to insist on patronage will do no good without this. Mr. William Lathrop, of the Fourth Congressional District in Illinois, has, we see, declined to withdraw from the canvass, and whatever may be the merits of the question as to his nomination, the friends of civil-service reform must be glad to have an opportunity of voting for him.

The Republican managers ought to put some sort of check on Mr. Blaine, as he is apparently losing his head, and has begun making "charges" right and left. At Xenia, Ohio, the other day, he said:

"But I hold in my hand a semi-official letter from an officer in the Treasury Department, wholly unsolicited by me, but specially authorizing me to state publicly that from the best information possessed by the Department, Mr. Tilden owes the United States to-day from \$150,000 to \$250,000 on account of unpaid income-tax; and this official letter authorizes me further to state that by a recent decision of the United States Circuit Court at Providence, Rhode Island, it is believed the whole of this vast sum, amounting to probably a quarter of a million of dollars, can be recovered for the benefit of the United States Treasury. I have, of course, no personal knowledge of the subject, but I make this statement on the best authority in the United States."

The officer who sent him this stuff ought, under the "reform," to be dismissed (1) for communicating information about the income of private citizens to stump orators, and (2) for gross mendacity. For the reasons given by us last week, "the Department" cannot know how much, if anything, Tilden owes the Government, and for any officer to pretend to know it for partisan purposes is to convert the

machinery of administration into an instrument of slander and defamation. Upon Mr. Blaine's conduct in making use of this blather-skite in this pompous way we need make no comment.

He has, besides slandering Judge Clifford of the Supreme Court with inaccurate indecency, been falling foul of Mr. Charles Francis Adams with equal inaccuracy, though with less indecency, because Mr. Adams is not a judge. Mr. Blaine says:

"After the Republican victory of 1860, Mr. Adams, then a Representative in Congress from Massachusetts, sought by all his influence to deprive the country of everything that had been gained in the struggle. He offered every humiliating concession to the South, agreed to abandon the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, and, as the climax of the degrading and dishonoring conditions, he offered to amend the Constitution of the United States so as to render the abolition of slavery impossible so long as a single slave State should object. The amendment, so warmly urged by Mr. Adams, declared, in effect, that no amendment to the Constitution, in any way interfering with slavery in the States, should ever be even so much as proposed, except by one of the slave States, and should not be adopted, except with the consent of every slave State."

This is full of untruths. Mr. Adams did not "offer to amend the Constitution" in the manner described. On the contrary, he voted for the amendment of Mr. Corwin of Ohio, which struck out of the resolution to which Mr. Blaine alludes the provision in question, and then voted with the majority to lay the whole subject on the table. It was not laid on the table, and the Corwin form of the amendment was passed by the Senate, but it did not prohibit any such other amendment to the Constitution as Mr. Blaine describes, and was supported by the leading Republicans as an honest effort to prevent civil war, however mistaken it may have been. Nor is it true, as Mr. Blaine has affirmed, that "Mr. Lincoln often declared that no crisis of the war was so terrible, and no possible issue of it so destructive, as the proposition of Mr. Adams to found the continuance of the Union on the remorseless, hopeless, and endless servitude of an entire race of men." In the first place, Mr. Adams made no such proposal, and, in the second, of the proposal he did make Mr. Lincoln said, in his inaugural address, "that he had no objection to [this amendment] being made express and irrevocable." It is not true, therefore, that the amendment was prevented from coming to a direct vote by Mr. Lincoln's influence, as Mr. Blaine also says. Horace Greeley used sometimes exclaim plaintively, "Is there to be no end of lying?" and yet in his time lying on a great scale was left to the lowest class of Democratic newspapers. Were he alive now, and saw the leading Republican writers and journalists vying with Brick Pomeroy in the production of "campaign stories," what wails he would utter!

Governor Chamberlain has issued a proclamation calling attention to a condition of lawlessness in two of the South Carolina counties, ordering the "rifle clubs" and other unlawful organizations to disband, and announcing that unless they do so he will enforce obedience by a resort to all the powers given him by the laws of the State or of the United States. This proclamation he has followed up by an address to the country, assuring the public that he has evidence to prove the lawlessness, disorder, and crime referred to in the proclamation, pledging himself to prove it, and promising not to "stay his hand" until punishment overtakes the authors of the troubles. He fortifies his statement of the condition of affairs by a report from United States District-Attorney Corbin, who declares that armed "rifle clubs" exist throughout the county of Aiken; that they have created a perfect "reign of terror"; that "the colored men are many of them lying out of doors and away from their houses at night"; that many have been hunted, whipped, or killed; that from thirteen to thirty negroes have been killed in the county by these clubs in three weeks; that the sheriff does not dare to oppose them, and that the civil arm of the Govern-

ment is "as powerless as the wind to prevent these atrocities." All Mr. Chamberlain's statements are denied by the Democrats, who have produced letters from several Republican judges denying that there is any lawlessness in the State. The canvass is being conducted by the whites with great energy on what is called the "preference" plan. This plan consists in letting the negroes know that their bread and butter depends on their abandoning the Republican party, and forcing them to announce before the election whether they mean to vote for Hampton or Chamberlain.

The contest in this city over the municipal offices begins to grow warm, and promises soon to be exciting. Mr. Green is receiving a large non-political support for mayor, and receiving it in a way that looks as if it might be followed by the Republican nomination. Tammany and anti-Tammany appear to be gradually coming together, but the truce is still a hollow one, and which side is ultimately to carry the day depends much on the result of the Presidential election. Tilden's victory would probably put Tammany Hall permanently in the hands of men like Edward Cooper and Mr. Hewitt, while his defeat would be followed by the triumph of "Jimmy" O'Brien. John Morrissey, we see, is still strongly opposed to Tammany Hall, and wants to have it pulled down. The continued assaults of the *Times* upon "Boss" Kelly have brought that gentleman out in defence of himself, and he has made a speech or two with regard to his record, which, as he shows, is really a remarkably good one for a "Boss," and one which many a private citizen might envy him. He does not in his defence deny that he is a "Boss," and is carrying on the government of this city for us, but points out that the difference between him and other "Bosses" has been that he has tried to be a good, kind "Boss," to give good judges, good mayors, good district-attorneys, and, in fact, to fill all the offices in his gift with good men. This is perfectly true. We have watched Mr. Kelly's career for some years with the interest which all taxpayers must feel in the "Boss" for the time being, and we think that, judging him as a "Boss" should be judged, he is rather a credit to the city. In fact, if we were to have the right to select the "Boss" of our own choice out of all those who have filled the position during the last twenty-five years, we should pick out Mr. Kelly as the best of them all. He is a plain, simple-minded, straightforward, Irish-American Catholic, is not an office-holder or office-seeker, has wealth enough to place him beyond the reach of temptation, and has attained his present eminent position not by bribery and corruption, but by doing what we have always been assured is so necessary for good government in New York—attending to his political duties, going to primaries, and watching the caucuses and conventions to see that "none but fit men" are nominated. The only defect in his character as a "Boss" that we have been able to discover is a tinge of hopelessness and scepticism as to the ultimate success of the good cause for which he is always working. This was increased, we fear, by the success of the "Reform movement" of last year, for Mr. Kelly has not been the same "Boss" since. He is now said to be thinking of making Mr. Schell mayor, which would be a mistake, and would tend to show on his part a growing distrust of the soundness of the people on the reform issue, which we should regret.

The movement in Mr. Green's favor has, we are glad to say, taken a shape which is not unlikely to result in giving the public an opportunity to vote for a genuine reform ticket. The gentlemen in charge of the movement, among whom are to be found Mr. Jackson S. Schultz, Mr. Ottendorffer, General Barlow, and other well-known reformers, have decided not to fall into the usual trap of a "committee to consult other organizations"—which usually begins with a consultation and ends with a bargain by which the independents get the support of one of the two political parties on some leading candidate, at the price of having to support some of the leading

rascals of the party for minor offices—and have resolved to nominate a full ticket for mayor, judges, surrogate, sheriff, county clerk, and aldermen, the candidates to be selected "with special reference to fitness, good character, and capacity," and to ask the co-operation of the Bar Association, and other reform organizations. What this will all result in it is impossible for anybody to attempt to predict, but one thing is very certain, that we have in this movement an opportunity to get a better city government than we have had for years. Mr. Ottendorffer unquestionably represents a large German vote, as General Barlow and Mr. Schultz do a large number of native Republicans; and by holding rigidly aloof from the two rival parties, the reformers may either compel both of them to make unexceptionable nominations, or may at any rate defeat a large number of bad ones made by either party. We trust that the fury of the campaign, which promises to be very great in this State, will not be allowed to blind voters in this city to the fact that there ought to be no connection between the questions as to who is to be President of the United States and who is to superintend the lighting, paving, and policing of this city, and that it is just as important for them to be saved from bad government, over-taxation, and communistic tyranny in their own homes as it is for them to determine which party they prefer to see in Washington.

The course of speculation at the Stock Exchange was reversed early in the week, and prices of stocks have since advanced from 2 to 12½ per cent. The rise was led by New Jersey Central, in which company there has been a reorganization of the management. Mr. Knight of the Bound Brook Road having succeeded Mr. John Taylor Johnston as president. The recovery in prices has, after the coal securities, been most noticeable in those shares which, having been held by investors, have in the past few months been vigorously attacked. Railroad business, although the trunk lines have not yet announced a settlement of differences and an advance in rates, is more profitable than last year, and the accounts of trade in all parts of the country continue encouraging. It is to be noted, however, that there is a disposition on the part of party organs to turn the business situation to political account in a way that is not warranted. After three years of depression and liquidation the recovery now is natural, and will probably continue whoever is elected President. At the request of the syndicate the Treasury has called for redemption \$10,000,000 more 6 per cent. bonds, making \$50,000,000 in all since the formation of the present syndicate. It is now beyond dispute that they have sold fully \$50,000,000 new 4½ per cent. bonds; and it is an open secret that a little more than one-half this amount has been taken in this country, principally by national banks for use to secure their note circulation. The rumors and reports of war in Europe have had no effect on the London money market and none here on the gold market. Gold here has fallen almost entirely because of the arrangements made between the syndicate and the Treasury. Under these the Syndicate is not compelled to turn gold into the Treasury for new 4½ per cent. bonds at the time the latter are taken out. This relieves the gold market of a scarcity which threatened to become embarrassing. A considerable amount of gold has also been imported, the Rothschilds having sent to their correspondents here \$750,000 during the week. The fall in the gold market has, by temporarily checking the export trade and increasing purchases of bills by importers, so strengthened the foreign exchange market that at the close gold could not be profitably imported. The money market shows less change at this point than was expected, but in all parts of the country the mercantile demand for bank accommodations is increasing. The gold value of a one-dollar Treasury legal-tender note has ranged during the week between \$0.9090 and \$0.9184. The price of silver closed in London at 52d. per ounce, English standard. The gold value of the old silver dollar would at the close of the week have been \$0.8778; the gold value of the "trade dollar" was \$0.8938.

"THE INDEPENDENTS IN THE CANVASS."

THE last number of the *North American Review* has an article under the above heading, generally attributed to Mr. C. F. Adams, Jr., which follows into their present political position the members of the Fifth Avenue Conference called by Mr. Schurz last May, and makes a number of criticisms on them and on the two parties they have joined which will attract a good deal of attention. The writer jokes them pleasantly upon the great haste with which they joined one or other of these parties after the nominations were made, although there is no doubt that the following passage in that portion of the address describing the sort of candidates whom independent voters could *not* support was intended for Mr. Hayes: "— who, however favorably judged by his nearest friends, is not publicly known to possess those qualities of mind and character which the stern task of genuine reform requires; for the American people cannot now afford to risk the future of the Republic in experiments on merely supposed virtue or rumored ability, to be trusted on the strength of private recommendations." But then he acknowledges that the nominations on both sides, though not the best, were, on the whole, so good that "there was nothing from which an appeal to the country could be taken with any prospect of success." It is difficult to avoid the conclusion, therefore, that in taking sides the reformers did the best thing in their power, as long as they thought there was any chance whatever of getting what they wanted from either Tilden or Hayes. The effect of the nomination of Hayes, too, on the public mind was heightened by the circumstances of Blaine's defeat. The "exposure" of him which immediately preceded the Convention, coupled with the extraordinary support he received in that body, made him, in the eyes of the better element of the party, in some sort the representative of its corruption, and made his overthrow by anybody seem a great triumph of reform, and made "the anybody" seem the heaven-sent man, the "Deus ex machinâ" who was to save the state. It is quite true, as the writer points out, that Hayes is not the natural and proper candidate of his party, as Tilden is of his. He has not risen into prominence by a long and conspicuous political career, as Tilden has, and it is no answer to this to say that he has filled more offices and been longer in office than Tilden. The candidate of a party which has been in opposition for sixteen years cannot be expected to have had much official experience. His claims have to rest on prominence in the party councils, and this Tilden had had, while Hayes had not. But then, if we once concede that it is proper or possible under any circumstances for a party to be allowed to reform itself when in power, and to turn itself to new duties under new leaders, Hayes's nomination was as good a one as could have been made, because the conspicuous men of the Republican party, from whom, in the ordinary course of things, the candidate ought to have been taken, are themselves "part of the thing to be reformed." To blame the party for not nominating one of them is, therefore, tantamount to blaming it for attempting "reform within the party." Its course has, perhaps, been irregular, but any other would have been suicidal. The question which Mr. Schurz and other "Independents" had to settle for themselves, therefore, as it seems to us, was not whether Hayes was a man whom the Republican party could consistently nominate, but whether he was a man who would answer their purpose. Mr. Schurz apparently, after seeing Mr. Hayes, found no difficulty in answering this question in the affirmative, and we do not think he made a mistake. For, if our view of the situation be a correct one, the duty of a reform President at this juncture will be unusually simple, and will depend for its proper performance rather on character than on political experience. Indeed, for the work before a Republican President of the right sort, we doubt if long political experience would not be a hindrance rather than a help.

Where the reviewer is undoubtedly right in his criticism of the "Independents" is in his condemnation of the haste with which they committed themselves, and for this Mr. Schurz was largely

responsible, though in judging him it must be remembered that what he had at his back was not a controllable organization, but a loose body of respectable men who did not enjoy their position of observers and critics, and were glad to seize any opportunity of getting out of it. For nearly everybody who takes any interest in politics at all likes to act with a party if he can, and if a large and enthusiastic party so much the better. "Independents" are human; they are stimulated and encouraged and consoled by sympathy and co-operation, and as a general rule do not quit party organizations as long as they can help it, and get back into them as soon as they can. But even after it appeared certain that Mr. Hayes was the man of whom the Fifth-Avenue Reformers were in search, the kind of work they expected him to do made the manner of conducting the canvass a matter of great importance. Over this they lost all influence by giving in their adhesion to the regular nominations as soon as they were made, and the result has been most unfortunate for several reasons.

Whatever discouragement was inflicted on the Machinists by Hayes's nomination was at once removed when they found that all the dissidents and malcontents of the party had surrendered unconditionally, and were again enrolled in the party ranks, and that under no circumstances would there be a bolt or desertion, and that the old managers might remain in full control of the canvass. Accordingly, they all gradually left their "back seats in the rear car," headed by that eminent reformer Chandler, and crowded upon the locomotive, and began shouting and waving flags and making themselves as conspicuous as possible. The result of this will be what it ought not to be, that the election of Hayes will bear the appearance of an act of indemnity and oblivion for the very men who have made reform necessary, who are indeed themselves part of the abuse, and who have put the Republican party in the danger in which it now finds itself. Their activity and prominence in his behalf, too, will, as the *North American Review* justly points out, make Chandler, Cameron, Morton, Blaine, and the like (themselves component parts of the evils of the day), according to established party usage, the natural advisers of the new administration, and put on Mr. Hayes, as the first step in his thorny path, the difficult and delicate task of overlooking their claims.

In the next place, the things which most needed discussion in the canvass, the questions on which the public mind was least informed, the public judgment least ripe, and the public zeal least warm, were the currency and civil-service reform, and on one or other of these subjects "the record" of the Republican chiefs is so bad, or their hostility to change so strong, that it is no wonder they have endeavored to shirk debating them. Moreover, it is on these subjects that Mr. Hayes will be called on for most action and for most energy and determination. With regard to civil-service reform nearly everything will depend on him, and in the conflict with Congress into which that is sure to lead him, the issue will undoubtedly turn on the degree of support he gets from the main body of the party. He will need it all, and more than all, when he is surrounded at Washington by the managers, and "pressure" is brought to bear on him in favor of "harmony," and he is warned daily and nightly of the danger of breaking up the party and letting "the solid South" get control of the Government at the end of his four years. The preparation of the people to give him this support ought, therefore, to have been the main work of the canvass. Of the Southern question, even when looked at from the Blaine point of view, less, or very little, is needed to be said. With regard to the South neither action nor legislation will be called for hereafter. Mr. Hayes can do nothing about it unless he is called on for troops by the State governors, and as they promise to be all Democrats during his term of office, they are not likely to trouble him. The only remedy for Southern dangers or abuses the Republican politicians suggest is the retention of themselves in office. They propose nothing else, except vituperation. The enormous quantity of talk expended on the South has therefore been at least nine-tenths unnecessary, but it has been resorted to because it was the safest topic and that on which nearly all Republican orators are most sound.

They can all safely say that, whatever may be the condition of their accounts, they have never hindered a colored man from voting, and have always warmly disapproved of such hindrance.

Whether anything the "Independents" could have done or said would have prevented all this is, of course, matter of speculation, but it is very clear that the Conference led many to expect greater caution and scrutiny from the gentlemen who issued the address. As matters stand, we think the canvass has been so conducted as greatly to increase Mr. Hayes's difficulties, and to make the result of his attempts at reform more doubtful. But, for our own part, we shall be well satisfied if he stands his ground without flinching, and thus, whether he makes any immediate impression on Congress or not, gives honest men somebody and something to rally upon, and delivers them from their present unhappy participation in the farce which makes Blaine and Chandler the leaders of a "reform movement." If Mr. Hayes leaves behind him at the end of his four years a real party of reform under new leaders, who lead because they are reformers and never were anything else, we shall be grateful to him, even if he accomplishes no radical and thorough change in the present system.

THE SENTIMENTALISTS AND CYNICS IN ENGLAND.

THE Bulgarian massacres are causing a marked revival of the spirit of reformatory enthusiasm in England which during the greater part of the history of the Gladstone ministry was its mainstay, and the decline of which led to its overthrow; and the Liberals have not been slow to take advantage of it. Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet is not the only contribution to the controversy from that quarter which has helped to fan the flame of excitement. Mr. Lowe has spoken in the same sense, if not with the same heat, and so has Mr. Forster, and so have many other Liberal chiefs, while the Liberal press, which has had much to do with bringing the atrocities to light, keeps up a crackling of small arms between the booming of the great political guns. The ministry have been put in a very awkward position by not having been at the outset properly informed by the ambassador at Constantinople, and were apparently so thrown off their guard by his nonchalance that they almost pooch-pooched the enquiries which were addressed to them on the subject in the House of Commons. Indeed, Lord Beaconsfield almost made the reports the subject of a rather flippant jest, by denying the torture of the Bulgarian prisoners on the *à priori* ground that an Oriental people had a quicker mode of disposing of their enemies. The result was that when the true accounts finally came, the fury against the Turks was deepened by the indignation against the ministry. This indignation has apparently been leading the public to forget that there ever was any reason whatever for English support of Turkey, and the language at many of the meetings has been such as almost to lead to the belief that the speakers thought British patronage of Turkey was due simply to a cold indifference to human suffering or a fellow-feeling for cruel brutes. As the agitation has gone on, however, the Conservatives (in temperament as well as in politics), who were at first compelled to bow their heads before the blast, have picked up courage enough to answer back, and the result is a controversy of exceeding bitterness between the "sentimentalists" and the "cynics" or "club-loungers," the *Pall Mall Gazette* doing battle for the latter, for whom also the *Economist* gives judgment, and the *Spectator*, with considerable help from outsiders, for the former. The "cynics," in the first place, affirm with increasing boldness that the policy of England towards Turkey has been a sound one; that it has not promoted, but, on the contrary, has moderated Turkish inhumanity, and has greatly improved the condition of the Turkish Christians, and has been the policy called for by English interests; that the misconduct of the bashi-bazuks in Bulgaria, of which the Government was not cognizant, has not altered and cannot alter its complexion; that, anyhow, no matter how great the indignation of the British public may be, interference in Turkey, to be effective, must be on a plan made with a distinct calculation and perception

of consequences. To this the "sentimentalists" reply that Turkey has been encouraged in her wrong-doing by the feeling that her existence was considered by Englishmen necessary to British safety; that England is therefore to a certain extent morally responsible for her wrong-doing; that in point of fact, the late despatch of the fleet to Besika Bay, which was intended as a measure of protection for foreigners at Constantinople, was looked on by the Turks as a sign that they might defend themselves with the first weapon that came to hand; and that England must now rid herself of the whole business, come what may; that her duty is to do right, and leave the consequences to Providence.

Out of this crimination there has, naturally enough, sprung the old controversy about the morality of caution in action when the end in view is good; and over this the *Spectator* and *Pall Mall Gazette* have been both acrid and lively. The *Spectator* has had more than one article on the evils of "negative criticism," which it associates with love of personal comfort and "club furniture," and considers the product of a somewhat depraved moral nature; and at this the *Pall Mall Gazette* sneers viciously, and calls the *Spectator* "a lively little prophet." Considering how much this subject has been discussed, it is wonderful how much confusion of thought there is about it; or rather, it would be wonderful if we did not recollect that it is nearly always discussed in a passion. There is really nothing more objectionable, on moral grounds, in negative than in affirmative criticism—certainly in politics, at all events; that is to say, the man who says "Don't," or "Wait," is just as likely to be good and wise as the man who says "Act," or "Make haste." Indeed, we think, as a matter of fact, the world on the whole owes more to the Negative Critics than to the Affirmative; but it would be difficult or impossible to prove any such position, and for this reason: the good that results from refraining is imperceptible. We see that the *status quo* is maintained, but we do not see the evils that have been avoided—we only picture them in our imagination. On the other hand, the benefits of successful action are palpable, and often permanent, and bring the opponents of action into confusion and disrepute. But when we think of the enormous amount of misery which has been brought on the world by rash and inconsiderate action, we may form a faint idea of the misery which would have been wrought if all the wild schemes which have been conceived had been carried out.

A good illustration of this may be found in the recent history of the British connection with Turkey. In 1853 both Bright and Cobden were "negative critics" of the Crimean war. The rest of the nation were fierce and eager for it; the press was unanimous for it, and exalted it into a holy war, waged in the defence of civilization against barbarism, and of the weak against the strong, and as a means of rousing England from sloth and filling her youth with high resolves, and so forth. These two statesmen stood alone in cold opposition to it. It is now generally conceded that they were right; and in this case we can measure the exact amount of misery and loss which would have been avoided by taking their advice. The war against the French Republic was another folly of the same sort; and to come nearer home, what a band of sages they were, but how cold, cynical, and heartless they must have looked, who advised the Southern secessionists not to fight the North. "What might have been" doubtless often seems a sad tale, but if we knew the whole of it we should find it was full of pleasant passages, and that the world had in the main, though imperceptibly, been an enormous gainer through people's abandonment of designs conceived in hot blood and wearing a look of nobility.

The reason why "negative criticism" has come to have such an ignoble look is not simply that it is the favorite attitude of selfish or slothful persons, but that it is almost always addressed to persons who are excited and off their balance. The native hue of resolution is apt to be very ruddy, because the blood is in the head when action is contemplated, and under such condition nothing is more exasperating than to be told of difficulties and dangers by pale-faced people, who mean to go quietly to bed after having given you their

advice. That they are mean and base and up to no good, seems an irresistible conclusion.

Lord Derby, who is a "negative critic" by temperament, besides not seeing very well what to do though he were never so well disposed to do something, is at present, owing to the early bad management of the business, in a position of great difficulty. It is comparatively easy to bully the Porte into making compensation to the plundered Bulgarians, but it is no easy matter to do what Mr. Gladstone asks—that is, secure autonomy for Bulgaria and Bosnia and Herzegovina—without bringing the whole Empire down in ruins; and if it is brought down it will not be possible to set it up again, or anything satisfactory in its place, with a fleet simply, and a fleet is all England has to meddle with. It would be hard to give any reason for liberating the Christians of Bulgaria and Bosnia that will not apply to the Christians of Rumelia and Macedonia—Turkish tyranny is not confined to one province; and yet no English statesman can feel sure that the now excited public are really prepared for the possible and even probable consequences of a complete Turkish collapse.

CAMPAIGN EPIGRAMS.

MOETTES.

A Widow? Yes, and not of one but twain,
The worse half of Sanborn and of Jayne;
She helped their dubious profits, and, they gone,
At the old stand the business carries on.

THE ASTRONOMER MISPLACED.

Boutwell could find a big hole in the sky,
Blind to the small ones in the Treasury.
Tell him of leaks, he doesn't care a pin;
Can't they be stopped by sticking sponges in?

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF SCIENCE TO MORALITY.

THE satire, thinly veiled, under Professor Huxley's phrase of the "Miltonic theory" of creation may not improbably have betokened the lecturer's personal attitude of mind towards the hypothesis he was about to confute; an attitude of amusement rather than of serious consideration. To one accustomed to weigh scientific evidence the version of the world's origin resting solely on the authority of an ancient Hebrew Scripture must seem hardly entitled to the courtesy of a refutation, save for the sake of unenlightened hearers. The sentiment is easy to understand; and it is no less easy, we think, to understand the strong revulsion from it, as irreverent and irreligious, of those whose minds have been formed under church teachings of the stricter sort. It should always be remembered, by those to whom such sensitiveness appears at first mere bigotry and folly, that the idea of the infallibility of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures is to a very large class of minds inseparably connected with the ideas which to them are the supreme sanctions and incentives to morality, and the great sources of consolation and hope. What the infallible Church is to the devout Catholic, the infallible Bible is and has been for over three hundred years to the vast majority of devout orthodox Protestants. And what lends the almost tragic interest to the conflict between scientists and theologians is the fact that the philosophy for which the latter stands, however open to criticism on intellectual grounds, constitutes the basis on which the mass of our population have been trained in the obligations of morality. When the old foundation is cut away what is to take its place? And what room will the philosophy of science leave for such beliefs and hopes as under the name of religion have contributed to the elevation of humanity? Without attempting to answer these questions at large, we think some considerations may be presented which seem well founded and not devoid of encouragement.

Let us for a moment ask what positive contributions to morality—to morality of thought, if we may so say—the scientific habit of mind seems to furnish. It is apparent at once, we think, that it eminently contributes to what may be called the fundamental virtue of the intellect—supreme regard for truth. At every step of his progress the student of material nature is severely disciplined in the sacrifice of prepossession prejudice—the subtlest and strongest forms of self-love—to the evidence of truth. He must perpetually ask, not what is pleasant, but what *is*. Of the effect of this habit of supreme regard for fact upon intellectual tendencies and systems we do not here speak; we emphasize only the incalculable *moral* value of such a habit.

And we may add that it develops a side of character which religious training has hitherto neglected, or even thwarted. In common religious speech "the truth" has come to mean "that system which we ourselves hold to be true." Regard for the ideal truth, readiness to give up one narrow vision for a wider vision, has in effect been frowned upon. And the characteristic crimes of religious bodies—the persecutions and tortures, physical or moral, for opinion's sake, which have been the opprobrium of the historical church—have sprung from this very vice of devotion to one's own belief as intrinsically sacred and rightfully dominant. The class of studies which pre-eminently foster the opposite virtue of love of truth for its own sake; which compel the student to hold his opinions and theories subject always to the possibility of new light, would seem to deserve gratitude as friendly to good morals. And it seems to us that thoughtful religious men, who desire above all else, as the basis of their religion, a true view of the universe—not merely a pleasant view—ought to be grateful to studies which by training the mind to truth-serving tend to clarify human vision and so to gain deeper insight into the great realities.

Moreover, perhaps the one definite contribution which scientific studies are especially making to what may be called our higher knowledge of the universe, is the idea which they so powerfully inculcate of unvarying order. Each new discovery emphasizes the fact of an all-pervading unity of plan. It must certainly be accounted a philosophical weakness of the historical forms of religion that they have so largely emphasized the opposite notion, and taught that it is in breaks of the habitual order, in interventions, alternations of defeat and retrieval both in the outer world and in man himself, that the Divine presence is especially manifested. The scientific conception of an unchanging order, a unity of plan in which all things perfectly combine, may well minister to our highest feelings of admiration and awe; may well consist with the worship of a God "in whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning"; and with the calmest and most reassuring faith in

"One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves."

It is always to be remembered that the applications of scientific truth made by Huxley and Tyndall do not directly touch—as they would be the first to declare—a vast realm of human interests; do not lie in that world of emotion and purpose, of suffering and achievement, of which Shakespeare mirrors a few glimpses, and which makes up so great a part of life. But even into that inner world some of the great leading principles of natural science may legitimately be carried. The law of observation and induction has here too its field. And of what service it may here render to religion we have an example in the talk of a moralist like Matthew Arnold, who insists, on the verifiable grounds of experience and observation, that "conduct is three-fourths of life"; and that life can have no business so important as the cultivation of fidelity, purity, unselfishness, and the other great elements of character.

But after all has been said of the practical contributions of science to morality, the query may be urged whether it throws any light on the great question of a beneficent Power exercising personal care over the individual as well as the race, and responding to the human emotions of gratitude and trust and love. It may well be that science throws no such light, and yet that the recognition and adoration of such a Power may rightfully belong to man in his highest development. All human beings, from a Newton to the child of an hour, hold to and live by many things of which science can give no account. It is hard to believe that it will ever be found irrational or impossible for man to rest in the sense that the course of things is ordered by something higher and better than his own will, and to feel that his true attitude towards the universe is that of trust and hope, as well as energetic activity.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—No. XVII.

FRENCH ART.—II.

AMONG the most satisfactory and conscientious of the works sent from Paris are those of M. Luminais. His "Morvan" (96) is an intelligent effort to reconstruct history, or rather to tell with archaic accent an historical anecdote. The Breton chief listens with contemptuous fatigue while Witche, the priestly envoy of Louis the Debonnaire, tries monotonously to extort tribute by argument. His pains are lost, for the blonde young wife of the warrior has stolen in, and, sitting on his knee, takes possession of one buckskin-covered arm and covers the hand with kisses. The sullen chieftain's eyes are closing—it is easy to see which persuader will win the day, the prelate or the beauty who inspires rebellion. Luminais' other

subject (71) takes us all the way back to those days of primitive Gaul in which he is so much at home. A group of wicked-looking Druid oaks make a dramatic effect by crooking their crabbed fingers against the sky, while, in a dell of deep grass beneath, the savages catch and climb upon their small, long haired horses. The oaks and the landscape have the positive relief of Jacque, but are richer in color. Close by this picture hangs the contribution (73) of M. Pierre-Charles Comte, being his Salon-picture of 1869, "Bohemians causing pigs to dance before Louis XI. when sick," with the name of J. de Saint-Gelais for authority. The pigs in action look deliciously like a demure dowager and a fatuous gallant in the proudly-robbed period of the Medici and Paul II., and for expression may be compared with the more earnest and bestial swine of Mr. Breton Rivière in the English department (151). The monks on their knees at the right are praying for dear life, but cannot prevent a glance of interest at the entertainment, the tribute of theology to the drama. At the bed's head, severe and black-gowned as the doctor in "Macbeth," Jacques Coletier permits the alternative remedy with haughty tolerance, while the vinegarish face of the sick king on the pillow is drawn all to one side with a reluctant smile. Meanwhile the Esmeralda at the bed-foot is training three other pigs to come forward in their turn. The picture is sarcastic, neatly composed, and quiet, like a well-bred jest recited in a club. M. Comte, in this caustic scene, has come unusually near to the territory of M. Vibert. Plassan, with his habitual skill, which must now be almost mechanical, shows in No. 51 his usual dame faithfully doing up that red-golden hair of hers before a Venice glass; as simple model-painting, it is a picture like a gourmand's last dish—a delicacy in color. Very different is Courbet's "Bather," a savage expression of the essentials of womanhood, for which we must seek Gallery 12 in the Annex, No. 810; a stout nymph, whose powerful back only is seen, seats herself on the banks of a stream, and allows a cascade from the rocks to splash through her lifted fingers. The study has the animal brutality of Courbet, with that sincerity and realism which make his copies valuable in their way, but never pleasant. His "Huntsman" (807) is only remarkable for the truth with which the horse's feet make wet, black holes through the lumpy snow. Of the two views of Chillon which the exile contributes, 809 is the best, with its beautiful shadowed grays in the style of Decamps; but the tone in both scenes is so low that it is like the examination of nature through smoked glass. In the same gallery we may note that the sheep's head of No. 790 is a good life-size study by Mlle. Bonheur; and that Léopold Robert's "Pilgrims" (784) is but a faulty representation of a genius to whom his fellow-citizens of Neuchâtel are now about to set up a Venetian monument; it is a classical, Vernet-like group of girls with wands and bundles winding by a lake-side to a town whose cathedral crowns the distant hill. The theatric pomp which Robert introduced into his four grand piges from Italian life, and which influences so many more recent careers, is hardly to be detected in his minor works; with him it was a grand fifth-act tableau, or nothing.

Merle's "Charity" is to be seen in Gallery Y of Memorial Hall, No. 1,296. Four life-size figures squeeze their persons with uncomfortable success into a frame much too small for them; yet with Merle's usual conscience and finish, heads and hands and all are capital in drawing, finish, and roundness. It is the curse of Messrs. Merle and Bongerueau that they never fail. They hold on so tenaciously to a certain line of picture-dealer's excellence that the public forget to pay any attention to them; meanwhile, far inferior works, with the stamp and sweat of effort upon them, come forward as sensations, and arouse the discussion and championship that turn into echo. In the next room, Gallery I, Feyen-Perrin measures himself with Rembrandt in a "Lesson of Anatomy" (No. 198); it is a faithful series of portraits, but its gray tone, of the silvery quality dear to the French, shows rather poor after the vital warmth of the Hollander. His other pictures, "Mother and Child" (34), "Antique Dance" (16), and "Melancholy" (8), are distinguished by punctilious exactness of study and cold elegance; in the first, a rustic wife tosses her baby by the sea-shore; in the second, a dozen girls are conducted through a lesson in attitude, and look as if just unwound from a Greek vase. A somewhat analogous composition, "St. Anthony's Day" by Dubouchet (103), is more striking in the relief of its clear silhouettes of youthful forms, and would make a popular engraving. Young lads, in the radical deshability of the Mediterranean, are daring each other to balance on the bowsprit of a vessel, and make a pretty group of olive-skinned ephebi. Still higher in grade than this, however, is Eugène Feyen's "Regatta in the English Channel" (41), which strikes a really high notch of merit in the miniature style which De Nittis and Detaille have brought to such perfection; the snow-drift of white kerchiefs, or caps like kerchiefs, sloping up the shore, each with a fresh individual peasant face bundled up in it, the concentration of the

peasant faces' interest on the few poor and work-day looking boats, and the damp and salty amphibiousness of the buildings in a French sea-side town, are touched to admiration. Not far off hangs a fair specimen of the popular sheep pictures of Schenck, a Holsteiner by birth, but best known as one of the fixtures of Ecouen; it is a small snow-storm effect, a piece of routine work for the painter, and a happy discovery for the crowd, all of whom can understand it. To see snow painted for the "impression" it makes, we must have recourse to the Annex, Gallery 35, and there behold from a proper distance Émile Breton's "Village in Winter" (353). It is a sketch, apparently as hasty and direct as an etching of Rembrandt's studied from the window. The damp weight of snow in melting weather, which is the only condition of snow the French are acquainted with, is rendered "without fear and without reproach." The trouble with an "impression" picture is, however, that it gives you as much of the artist as of his subject. We cannot look at this record without thinking most of all of the rustic landscapist of Courrières, and the bravura with which he makes certain spinning daubs of thick impasto tell, at a certain distance, the story of his admiration for winter-time as well as the story of his frosted fingers. M. Breton's other landscape, the "Canal at Courrières" (317), with the straight wedge of the embankment, straight slips of trees in file on either side, and straight bars of sunset cloud, is a weird, impressive, even a creepy sort of picture; only an artist of strong ability could give so subtle an impression with work physically so coarse. René, of two landscapes exhibited, is best in 58, in which the screens of trees, though relieved in flats against the sky, are, on examination, moulded in all their rotundity after the fashion of nature, whose blankest breadths when looked into prove to be full of gradation. Harpignies' robust and positive style is well seen in the "Landscape near Rénard" (80), through whose palisade of upright tree-stems we see the banks of a French stream wining in almost sculptural relief in a broad, fresh morning light. Bartholdi's "New California" (15) is a scene painted with artistic breadth, somewhat in the temper of Courbet, but a want of firm lines on which the eye may bring up gives it an air as if it would not wash. M. Busson's "Before the Rain" (177) renders the strange flash of trees against an indigo-black sky when a late ray of fiery light strikes them from out a storm-cloud. The cattle drinking so tranquilly at the pool which reflects these spectral appearances are not quite in harmony with the sentiment intended.

M. Edmond Morin, a designer who learned his sparkles and dots of black from Gilbert in London, tries his hand at painting, and gives us "The Flower Market at the Malbeine" (144), in which the clever, sketchy blotted figures seem to change places and dissolve into new combinations under the eye that watches them. It shows a kind of mastery, after all, to set down these current recollections of flying particles. In the "Model" (165), by Hirsch, in which a sculptor is represented copying in clay a girl who poses before him, there occurs some happy imitation of marble in painting, in the foreground group of Romeo and Juliet blocked out in a veined and faulty bit of stone. There is little to be said in praise of the pictures sent by Yvon, the well-known painter of the Malakoff. The "Cesar" (298) represents Deaths with scythes, like a "danse macabre," marching in front of an impassive equestrian Julius Caesar, through a great crowd; this slur upon the Crimean war, or else upon the literary venture of the late Emperor, is cold and hard and inexpressive to a hopeless degree. The smaller subject, with Napoleon I. and two pyramids and Egypt and a white Arab steed in the space of an octavo page (171), is somewhat happier. Pabst's "Alsatian Bride" (109) is a simply and solidly painted and satisfactory piece of character-grouping in seven figures, where a mother presents the bride to her laughing companions. In Louis Prion's "School for Young Satyrs" (75) we have a kind of antique bas-relief depicted with heavy Ribera lights and shades, a forcing of nature sure to be effective when the design, as here, is lively and striking; but there is nothing in the scene and time of day to cast such heavy shadows. "The Vegetable Stand" (239), by Villa, is completely without arrangement or pictorial effect, yet there is solid, fruity painting in the still-life, and the peasant spoons up her soup with a look of appetite and conviction.

The "Death of Caesar" by Clément (63) is a large and fatiguing piece of classicism, painted at Rome, and coldly serving up the baked meats of David; to see the flat Italian Raphaelesque style successfully treated we must remove to the Spanish section, and regard a little while Vera's smooth but tender "Burial of St. Lawrence" (40). Another large Roman machine is the "Julia" (34) by Zier, representing, as we make out, the mother of Caracalla defending her other son Geta from the assassins sent by the emperor. It is distinguished by some conscientious flesh-painting, but has the look of a half-comprehended experiment.

The specimen sent from the Gobelins factory (54), woven by Gréliche

from D. Maillart's design, is very beautiful, and the subject, the tapestry of Penelope, is appropriate. Under a terminal bust of Ulysses the faithful wife is covering a large web with woven figures of warriors, while the blue Ionian sea stretches to the horizon. Her weariness and fidelity are well expressed.

Dumaresq, celebrated for modern historical scenes, sends three appropriate subjects to the exhibition—a "Surrender at Yorktown," a "Declaration of Independence," and a "Congress of Geneva," of which the last (68) is best, the others being too declamatory. In the "Geneva," Chickburn studies his book like the objective mood incarnate, Cushing looks astute and attentive, and Everts analyzes with deep attention the face of Count Sclopis, who is speaking.

Conlier's ingenious ethnographic statues, made of bronze and colored marbles, are present in three or four instances, the best being the "Priestess of Isis" (234). Near this is a fine copy from Stèves of Watteau's "Voyage to Cythera" on a large porcelain plaque. The best statue is Moulin's "Secret from on High" (312), in which Mercury confides to a terminal head of Silenus an instruction that makes the wicked old head laugh from ear to ear; even the basest breaks into a deep frown and laughs too. The term will carry on the joke upon the next innocent maid who applies for an augury. Meyer's "Young David" (312) is a good study of a child with a sling, but not at all Biblical. Vasselot's colossal bust (154) of Dr. Auzoux, the inventor of the famous dissecting anatomic models, represents a very uncommonly original with force and candor; the troubled, questioning face seems determined to wrest some lurking idea from the arcana of nature. The French etchers and artists in *fusain* make a varied and agreeable exhibit, better rewarding an hour of study perhaps than the larger works we have here hastily indexed.

E. S.

GERMANY AND RUSSIA IN THE EASTERN QUESTION.

GERMANY, September 17, 1876.

"**LA FRANCE**" publishes a document purporting to be the preliminaries of an offensive and defensive alliance between Russia and Prussia with regard to the Eastern question, dated Berlin, June 11, 1876. A simultaneous despatch from Berlin to the *Cologne Gazette* announces that the higher military circles are deeply agitated by a rumor to the effect that we are on the very eve of a war between Russia and Turkey. "At all events, a great excitement is noticeable in the civil circles, which, since yesterday, is shared in the highest degree by the diplomatists. Among these it is said that Germany has already promised strict neutrality."

Turkey having refused to grant an armistice without sufficient guaranties that it will lead to an acceptable peace, and considerable masses of troops having been concentrated on either side of the Turco-Russian frontier, the news does not look like a sensational fabrication. Yet, so long as Russia has not actually issued her declaration of war, it might be well to remember the German adage: "Nothing is eaten so hot as it is cooked." In this exceptional year the heavy rains of the fall had already commenced three weeks ago, and Russia can hardly have forgotten her former experience of the dangers of a war in those regions during the rainy season. Besides, the news is coming thick from every part of the Empire that the economic crisis under which the Western world has been laboring these last three years is now developing rapidly throughout its vast limits. Furthermore, so far as outsiders can judge, there is as yet no reason to despair of obtaining by diplomacy and by *threatening* war everything that Russia could possibly gain by a most successful war. And, finally, the influence of all the great Powers will be exercised to the last to preserve peace. Even if the alliance of June 11 should prove to be a fact, and if a war should ensue, the secret diplomatic history of the last few months, when it is once fully divulged, will undoubtedly show that Germany has been true to her promise that her weight in the scales of European politics shall ever be found on the side of peace. Though it is true that the bloody laurels of war do not exercise such a charm on us as they do on our neighbors on the other side of the Vosges, yet it is due far less to this than to our geographical situation and our political antecedents that the German Empire is the best guaranty the peace of Europe has ever had and can ever have. That promise does not rest on our moral superiority, but simply on our political interests. Since we have become united into a real body politic we have nothing whatever to gain by a war, while we may lose much, if not everything; and every war between any of the great Powers of Europe exposes us more or less to the danger of being drawn into it in spite of ourselves. And if it is true in general that all our interests compel us to do everything in our power to maintain the peace of the Continent, it is more especially so in this case. We have no direct interest whatever in the Eastern ques-

tion; so far as we are concerned it derives its importance exclusively from its effects upon the relations of the other Powers of Europe; for us its centre is not in Constantinople but in St. Petersburg.

No candid critic, I trust, will controvert any of these propositions; and yet it is at least not absolutely impossible that events will force us into a position which apparently will not bear them out fully. In that case, the explanation would be simply that our abilities were not commensurate with our wishes. However much of idealism there may still be lurking in our political conceptions, we are realistic enough to know that, great as the power of Germany is, it is still far from sufficient to secure obedience to her veto under all circumstances. Whenever her exertions for the maintenance of peace are likely to be unavailing, the compass by which the policy of our government has to be guided must therefore, of course, be the desire to have the interests of the Empire as little as possible endangered by the war. If the present war-cloud should burst and Germany really assume the attitude indicated in the pretended treaty of June 11, the judgment of history will have to be formed according to the answers to the two following questions: Was she unable to prevent the war? and, if that be answered in the affirmative, Did her true interests demand that she should more or less cover the flanks of Russia by a friendly neutrality?

The danger is certainly great that Russia will declare war, though the above-mentioned reasons satisfy me that, whatever the Russian people may think, the Russian Government does not wish war, and I am convinced of that in spite of the undeniable support which Serbia is receiving from it. The *Cologne Gazette* says, in a leading article: "Even if the revolution had broken out, it would not have lasted so long if it had not been supported, contrary to the precepts of the law of nations, by Serbia and Montenegro—nay, also by Austria, Italy, and Russia." This is undeniable, but I cannot help agreeing with Professor von Treitschke that it is as cheap wisdom as the assertion that the tree would not grow if it did not receive nutriment from the soil and from the air. Everybody knows the fact, and no knowing of it can be of any practical consequence, because the other assertion of the *Gazette* is most certainly not true, that "the ultimate reason of the Eastern question is the intermeddling of the Powers with the internal concerns of Turkey." This constant intermeddling is, in the first place, itself a consequence, the natural and inevitable result of the fact that the existence of the Turkish Empire (as it is actually constituted) as a European state is an anomaly. It would have ceased to exist long ago if anybody had known what to put in its stead, and some time something will have to be put in its stead, no matter how great the crash may be which it may bring upon all Europe. Count Nesselrode wrote, in 1853, to Herr von Brunnow, with regard to the influence exercised by the court of St. Petersburg on the rayahs: "It will hardly be demanded that we should renounce this influence in order to quiet exaggerated apprehensions. And supposing the impossible case that we should be willing to do so, we could not." It has justly been said that he might have added: "And if we could do so, the rayahs would never believe that they could no longer count upon us." As long as the present Turkish Empire exists the rayahs will rise from time to time, and whenever they do rise Russia will and must step in for them, whether or no. Though Mr. Treitschke's comparison between the Pan Slavistic dreams and the struggle of Germany and Italy for political unification is rather unfortunate, yet even in this case the national idea is entitled to claim something, and there is strength enough to make good to some extent what it is pleased to claim. And if the Slavs are not, like the Germans and Italians, one nation, but only a family of kindred nations, they are, on the other hand, united by the ties of a common religion. It is well known that with them these ties are, in some respects, even stronger than those by which the Roman Catholic Church is held together; and besides, none of the Christian Powers can entirely disregard the claims raised by them on this head, because it is the Crescent that stands on the opposite side.

It is with these facts that our Government has to reckon, and not with the pious wish of the *Cologne Gazette*: "If only everybody would leave Turkey alone." And if these facts should lead to a war between Russia and Turkey, it is difficult to see what else Germany could do but back Russia so far that she obtain enough to satisfy her, and yet not a jot more than is absolutely necessary. We owe Russia much; and not only gratitude, but also interest, demands that we should do unto her as she has done to us. There is no natural sympathy between the Germans and the Russians; just the contrary. The latter cannot forgive us that we have to such an extent been their teachers, and we are loath to persuade ourselves that it won't do to look down upon them with the same air of superiority as we did fifty years ago. We will not forgive, and they will not forget, that there was a time when the Czar exercised a greater power over Germany than any of the German sovereigns. Yet nothing but an inordinate and to

the highest degree unreasoning ambition on either side could bring about a collision of vital interests between them. The only point of direct contact are their Polish possessions, and with regard to these either party has to wish for the other that the sins of the fathers be no longer visited upon the sons, for as it has shared the sins it may also have to share the punishment. As the two empires can render each other great services, so they may do each other infinite harm, but without any benefit from it to themselves. Emperor Alexander has given sufficient proof that he fully understands and appreciates this relation; but whether this will be so with Alexander III. is another question. Of late years the "inspired" German press has repeatedly assured us that he is far from harboring any hostile feelings towards Germany. He may have changed his mind, but I can affirm from what I have learned from the most reliable sources during an extended sojourn in St. Petersburg that, ten years ago, he had a deep aversion towards everything German. Besides, his wife is a Danish princess, and the ultra-national party, which is anything but friendly towards Germany, is steadily gaining ground among the people. We have, therefore, every reason to wish that, as long as there is time for it, the teachings of solid facts should strengthen the *calente cordiale*, so that they may be able to withstand the shock when mere antipathies threaten to override the behests of political interest. Such an opportunity is offered by virtually assisting Russia to do now what, sooner or later, must inevitably happen. Nothing warrants the belief that Russia entertains the slightest idea of laying her hands on Constantinople, much as she would like to have it; and it is unlikely that she contemplates any conquests or annexations whatever. The former would bring all Europe down upon her, and the latter even Germany could not view with indifference, because it would disturb the harmony and equipoise between Russia and Austria. But, under the circumstances, Germany can have no objection to seeing the emancipation of the rayahs pushed forward, though this would evidently lead to a considerable increase of Russian influence in the East. As long as the contrary is not shown by incontestable proofs, I trust we shall be safe in assuming that it is this, and nothing more, that has been promised by Bismarck to Gortchakoff.

In case the present danger of war has any effect at all on our internal affairs, it will, as long as the state of uncertainty lasts, probably work as a damper on the desire of the Government to bring about a change in the relation of parties. Thus far its indirect exertions seem to have fallen flat. In spite of Count Eulenburg's declaration the alliance between the National Liberals and the *Fortschrittspartei* is unbroken, and the chances of the new party, the German Conservatives, seem to be nearly zero.

Correspondence.

THE CENTENNIAL PAINTING AWARDS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I desire to make public the facts with regard to the awards which have been given to paintings by the Executive Committee of the Commission of the Centennial Exposition. A statement of this kind seems necessary because of inaccurate stories which have been told, and in justice to the judges of the Painting Committee, and especially to the foreign judges, who returned to their native countries with the confident belief that their report would be respected by the Exposition Commission. *The larger part of the awards in painting reported by the Exposition authorities were not recommended by the regular committee.*

The history of this business is as follows: In Group 27 there were some twenty-eight classes of objects. The judges selected to recommend awards to these classes numbered twenty gentlemen, a large proportion of whom were foreigners. When the group came together and was organized the work of recommending awards was assigned to committees; there were nine judges chosen for painting, six for sculpture, three for photography, and so on. All of these were selected because of their special fitness for the tasks imposed. The nine judges who formed the Committee on Painting were a body of experts of high character and rare capacity for the delicate and arduous labors which belonged to that class. These judges were Messrs. Charles West Cope, R.A., of England; Carl Schlesinger, Germany; J. Emile Saintin, France; Count of Donadio, Spain; Frank Hill Smith, Italy; Kruseman van Elten, who acted in place of F. E. Heemskerk von Beest, Netherlands. At the first meetings of the judges in Group 27 an attempt was made to fix the number of awards in the class of painting; another subject of great importance was fully discussed, and it was unanimously agreed that the plan for making awards as proposed by the Com-

mission could not altogether be put in practice in painting and sculpture. This plan was that one judge should write a full opinion of the picture or statue, and that a majority of the other judges should sign their approval. It was found that no two of the judges could agree in all respects in a criticism of a work of art, while it was not difficult to agree as to its *general artistic character*. Thus, a plan was adopted which divided the pictures in the following classification:

Religious, historical, etc.;

Genre;

Landscape;

Portrait;

Animal and still life.

In their recommendation for awards the only words used were: "For artistic excellence" in "Historical," "Genre," or whatever class to which the painting belonged. At the beginning of the sessions of this committee information was asked of the chief of the bureau "if the question of nationality was to be considered in recommending awards." The answer came that the merit of the work was to be the only consideration. In obedience to this rule, governed by this principle, for every day for nearly four weeks the judges were at work, sometimes holding two sessions each day, all the while examining, making notes, discussing, and deciding. These decisions were singularly free from national or personal bias. It was intended that, while the awards might be few in number compared with other expositions, they should be valued because they were deserved. In each case the award was made by a vote of the majority of the committee. On several occasions it was said, "We have given enough awards. If we pass beyond such and such a degree of merit, all distinctions will be lost and the awards will have as little value as those given at Vienna or Paris." Finally, by an almost unanimous vote, they did halt, and, although the effort was subsequently made by one or two members of the committee to reopen the lists, it was refused, and the committee made its final report to the entire group. This report was accepted, and the awards were signed by the individual judges and endorsed by the signatures of a majority—eleven—of the other judges of the group. Subsequently the other committees made their reports, which were also accepted. The group, having finished its work, asked the Commission to be discharged. They were told that they could have leave of absence, but that a final discharge could not be granted at that time. The group then made its final report, adjourned, and all its books and papers were formally placed in the office of the chief of the Bureau of Awards.

With the exception of two or three, whose duties as Commissioners kept them at Philadelphia, the judges separated and went to their homes—in Italy, France, England, or elsewhere. Several weeks after this the chief of the bureau, on behalf of the chairman of Group 27, issued a call to such of the judges as were in this country to meet at Philadelphia. The object of this call was to have more awards given to paintings. There was not, at that time, in the United States a quorum of the group, and several of the judges who were here refused to attend, recognizing only the authority of the Commission to reassemble them. At the meeting held in response to this call there were eight persons present. A committee from this body was informed by General Goshorn that "further recommendations for awards in painting would be considered." Whereupon a committee of three was appointed—not one of which had served on the regular painting committee—to make out a new list of awards in painting. Two of this committee were from the United States, one from the Netherlands, and two of them did not report presence until the very last meeting of the group. The only other two members of the regular painting committee present at the meeting refused to serve in this extraordinary scheme, and protested formally against it. In the case of the German judge this action was more significant, as he was one of the minority who had in his committee favored giving more awards. The committee appointed at the above-named meeting reported to the Commission some 128 names in addition to the 85 which had been regularly acted upon. The Commission confirmed the entire 128. The following is a list of the awards recommended by the regular painting committee:

FRANCE.—Daubigny (fls), George Becker, Harpignies, Schenck, P. C. Comte, Castiglione, Perrault, Carolus, Duran, Von, Pabst, Damaron, Zuber, Comerre, E. Sain, Luminais, Piron.

GERMANY.—Hildebrand, C. Lasch, Steffek, Poschinger, A. Achenbach, Wagner, Serbel, Hertz, Meissner, G. Richter.

UNITED STATES.—F. Hill, Miss A. Lea, Shade, W. M. Hunt, Toby, Rosenthal, Key, Bridgman, Jervis McEntee, Eastman Johnson, James Hart, W. Whittredge, M. F. De Haas.

ENGLAND.—Clarke, Stone, Perugini, Cole, P. Holl, Alma Tadema, Heywood Hardy, Fildes, Leighton, Geo. B. Faed, Francis Grant, Graham, Colin Hunter.

AUSTRIA.—Kuntz, L. Parmentier, Probst, Von Anjeli, Hans Makart, Felix Graboski.

NETHERLANDS.—Maive, Van Frigt, Nakken, M. Vos, Bishop, Hermann, F. C. Ten Kate.

SPAIN.—Lorenzo Valles, Carlos De Hias, Agrassot, Vera, Mercade, Antonio Gisbert.

BELOGIUM.—De Keyser, Van Luppen.

ITALY.—Mirchesi, Maccari, Camaran, Roberto Fontana.

SWEDEN.—Wahlberg, Von Rosen.

NORWAY.—Gude, Sinding, Grimelund.

The following table will show the distribution of awards relative to the different nations by the regular committee, which consisted of experts from all the great nations, and also the same distribution, so far as known to me, by the other committee, who were citizens of only two of these nations :

	First Award.	Supplementary.	TOTAL.
United States	13	28	41
France	17	19	36
England	14	10	24
Belgium	2	13	15
Netherlands	7	21	28
Spain	6	2	8
Germany	10	12	22
Austria	6	7	13
Italy	4	0	4
Sweden	2	0	2
Russia	3	3	6
Norway	3	0	3
Mexico	0	2	2
Brazil	0	1	1

G. W. N.

CINCINNATI, October, 1876.

Notes.

NO small part of the activity of the publishers, in this dullest of dull years, consists in new editions of standard works. Hurd & Houghton are in this way issuing, from the plates lately disposed of by J. R. Osgood & Co., the works of Scott, De Quincey, and Dickens. To Dickens's novels Mr. E. P. Whipple contributes fresh introductions, while Mr. H. E. Scudder has entirely rearranged De Quincey, besides editing the series and adding to it a twelfth volume. Roberts Bros. have reprinted the first volume of Landor's 'Imaginary Conversations,' which two other volumes will complete. Scribner, Armstrong & Co. begin, with 'Christian Nurture,' a uniform republication of the late Dr. Bushnell's works.—We announce, for the sake of warning off purchasers, the 'Pedigree and History of the Washington Family,' to be published in this city by the author, Albert Welles, President of the self-styled American College of Heraldry and Genealogical Registry. The public should be content to know that the Founder of the Washington line was "Torfin, the Dane," nat. circa. [sic] A.D. 1000, whose ancestors were of Schleswig [sic], Denmark."—Some interesting correspondence in regard to the Chiswick Press has lately appeared in the *Athenaeum* of Sept. 2, 9. To William Pickering "the Chiswick Press owes the first introduction of the typographical ornaments on which it prides itself. These titles, initial letters, borders, and ornaments were designed for Pickering by Stothard, Gerente, and Willement, and some of the best, *con amore*, by Mr. F. Montagu. To these W. Pickering added a large collection, copied from the best old designs of Geoffrey Tory, Pigouchet, and others." What American press has ever given such attention to the ornamental side of its art?—Parents with Christmas gifts before them will do well to look out for Mrs. Haweis's 'Key to Chaucer,' illustrated with colored pictures and numerous wood-cuts by the author. "Although ostensibly addressed to the child public," says the *Academy*, "the greatest care has been taken to ensure an accurate text; and throughout the illustrations the strictest attention has been paid to the costumes, manners, and customs of the period."—The *American Library Journal* (monthly) makes a handsome appearance, barring some annoying typographical slips. It promises to have a more than professional interest, and we recommend all intending founders of town and village libraries to subscribe for it, and read it diligently. The *Journal* is edited in Boston by Melvil Dewey, and published in New York by F. Leyboldt.—The death in Germany is announced of J. L. Klein, the author of a seemingly interminable 'History of the Drama,' of which the twelfth volume was published shortly before he died.—Calmann Lévy has announced for publication on September 29, in Paris, the twenty-fourth and final volume of the complete edition of Balzac's works, containing his Correspondence, 1819-1850, with a portrait on steel by M. Gustave Lévy. The same house also announces 'Nouveaux Récits Californiens,' by Bret Harte, whose 'Gabriel Conroy' appears in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for September 1.—Mr. Christern has received the prospectus of the 'Inventaire Général des Ri-

* The Russian exhibit arriving late, the four awards to that nation were made by a special committee.

chesses d'Art de la France,' a colossal enterprise already under way. The history, architectural details, and contents (of furniture, paintings, books, manuscripts, etc., etc.) of churches and other monuments are given with a particularity, method, and authority that must put all guide-books to the blush. Two volumes of 480 pp. each appear annually.

—We have received Mr. James B. Eads's report on the progress of his Mississippi jetties, addressed to the President of the South Pass Jetty Co., St. Louis, and dated New York, August 18. It is a controversial document—more so than any one could discover who had not read Major Comstock's report to Gen. Humphreys, bearing date of June 9. To lessen the weight of Major Comstock's statements (which are never specifically alluded to), reliance is placed on soundings made at Mr. Eads's request by Lieut. Marindin, of the U. S. Coast Survey, on April 29 and May 15, or just before and just after the Engineers had finished their soundings. This was done by permission of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, who says (in a letter to the Secretary of War, which Mr. Eads prints) "the observer . . . was recalled in consideration of the general impropriety of permitting continuous work, not only without authority of law, but in seeming rivalry with the officer of engineers who had been detailed by the Hon. Secretary of War for inspecting the progress and quality of the constructions and the effect of the projected improvement of the South Pass." He calls it, therefore, "the partial examination of 1876," as contrasted with "the careful survey of 1875," made in advance of Mr. Eads's operations, and says that it was "merely incidental, and not projected for comparison with the first survey, nor sufficient for such purpose." On this Mr. Eads remarks that "unless made for such comparison, it would have been without any object whatever, and would not fulfil the purpose I had in view" in requesting that soundings should be made, and in offering the use of a steam-launch for the occasion. We cannot go into the details of the difference between Mr. Eads and the Engineers, but must refer such of our readers as are interested in the question to both series of reports. Mr. Eads, referring to "the last survey, July 27," states that there is a channel extending down 11,800 feet from the upper end of the jetties to within only 250 feet of the deep waters of the Gulf, having an average width of about 350 feet, in which all the soundings are 20 feet or more in depth; that, August 14, there was a 20-foot channel across the bar, with a minimum width of 140 feet; that the Grand Bayou has been closed, and that the closing of the eastern inlet at the head of the South Pass has, somewhat tardily, followed; that the shoaling caused in the western inlet by this unintentional delay has been overcome; that deepening has taken place immediately in front of the jetties, and gives promise of sustaining Mr. Eads in his belief that when a depth of 30 feet shall have been reached, the necessity of extending the jetties "will not occur for many centuries." The charts accompanying this report deserve to be studied and kept for future reference.

—The powers now vested in city boards of health with regard to the registration of the fact and cause of death, as a preliminary to granting burial permits, ought to be made use of to shield the poor from the tender mercies of quack doctors. The "physician's" certificate as now accepted covers every degree of ignorance, incompetence, and even superstition, and gives it, as we may say, a standing which it could not otherwise hope to obtain. The Boston Board of Health in its last report cites the following certificate, to which a "doctress" affixed her mark :

"This certifies that A baby boy died on the birthday of Febberiy, 1876. Cause of death, 'Bern.'"

Other "physicians," of both sexes, we presume, enumerated among the causes of death "canerum," "canker and spasms," "lack of vetallity," "lack of villality," "daeth barne," "canker humer," "swallowing," "lung diess [disease]," "canther of the bowels," "scharletena," and "chituses." Naturally, the City Physician had to be called upon to determine what was meant in these and similar cases. The Report continues :

"The question who is a physician within the meaning of Sect. 3 of Chap. 21 of the G. S., still comes back to us and ought to be settled. Is every person who holds himself or herself out as such, attending another in his last illness, a physician within the meaning of the statute? Are we to take the certificate of every *soi-disant* physician, and, upon that alone, give a permit for burial? Is he or she a physician who has no degree, no diploma; who has never studied medicine; who has had little or no experience; who cannot spell the name of a disease so that it can be read or understood, and who cannot write his or her name at all, but who simply makes a mark? If so, what weight shall we give to such certificates? Of what possible value are they?"

The urgency of making some discrimination is apparent when it is considered that even the acknowledged lights of the profession often differ in

diagnosis, and that the diplomas of not a few of our medical schools are hardly more definite vouchers of training and capacity than the title of "physician" or "doctor" itself.

—The *Galaxy* for October contains no article specially noticeable, except perhaps a "Sketch," as the writer calls it, of Octavius Brooks Frothingham. He hopes that what he has to say "will serve to show that many notions current with respect to Octavius Brooks Frothingham are utterly superficial; that his reverential and judicial qualities are on a level with his acknowledged intellectual genius, and that he exerts in this community, and throughout the world of religious aspiration, a constant, earnest, and most potential force." Mr. Gideon Welles gives an account of the opening of Mr. Lincoln's administration, at that difficult period when it was still undecided whether Mr. Seward was Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of State, or whether Mr. Lincoln was to be the Secretary's executive officer, when the question of reinforcing Fort Sumter was still open, and rebel emissaries in Washington were from day to day and hour to hour apprised of every move taken or even discussed by the Government. A posthumous number of General Custer's "War Memoirs" gives an account, from what we suppose may be considered the professional point of view, of McClellan's campaign against Richmond in the spring of 1862. General Custer considers the plan to have been well designed, and only frustrated by foolish interference from Washington. The withdrawal of Blenker's division numbering 10,000 men, of another 10,000 from Wool's force, as well as McDowell's corps (35,000 strong), left McClellan, in General Custer's opinion, practically helpless. "McClellan's plan of campaign was based upon the employment of an army consisting of fourteen divisions. At the last moment—the enemy had already been engaged—five of these fourteen divisions were swept from his command by Executive order, leaving only nine to perform the task originally allotted to fourteen, and of these nine one was scarcely stronger than a brigade. The flank movement by which McDowell's corps was to be thrown to the right and in rear of the enemy's position at Yorktown had to be abandoned, and the slower process of a siege necessarily followed."

—Mr. Hamerton's serial on Turner has been the attractive part of the *Portfolio* for months past. The merely lyrical treatment of this unique artist's genius to which we have heretofore been accustomed gives way in these papers to one a great deal less Pindaric and much more reasonable and analytic. In criticising the "Dolbadern Castle," which represents Turner at the Centennial Exhibition, the critic is half contemptuous. "Turner's 'Dolbadern' is merely a brown picture of the Wilson class, with some feeling for the sublimity of an isolated tower amidst mountain scenery, but no delight in nor observation of the especial character of landscape around Llanberis." It was done like a prize poem, to fulfil the demand of the day for the classic, and without any of the modern consciousness that a landscapist must be a geologic authority. "Turner at Dolbadern was still in the spirit of the elder artists, to whom art seemed much more distinct from nature than it seems now to their successors. They looked upon the painted world on canvas as a world in itself." The landscape shows Turner still docile and pious at the feet of Poussin and Claude, without the slightest surmise that duty could ever demand of an artist the faithful representation of blue Welsh slate. Seymour Haden's etching of Purfleet, in the August number, is a good statement of an "effect." To the number for September M. Lalauze contributes a careful etching of Bronzino's "Portrait of a Lady," in the National Gallery, and the general artistic and literary matter is worthy the reputation of this best of English art-journals.

—Periodical literature nowadays abounds in articles based on various degrees of familiarity with Eastern Europe, and all serving to show how completely a foreign language written in non-Roman characters may do more even than misgovernment and a low civilization to make a country inaccessible and a perpetual mystery to outsiders. Capt. Hozier, in his essay on the military capacity of Europe, thought it not irrelevant to his argument to censure the use of Gothic characters in German print as being productive of national isolation. How much more serious this would be if, in addition to strange characters, there were no fixed rule for transliterating the names of persons and places. This, roughly speaking, is the case with all Europe east of the meridian of Berlin. Austria-Hungary is, from its mixed constitution, a source of the greatest confusion even to itself, as a recent writer in Petermann's *Mittheilungen* points out with some detail. In its official orthography of proper names it is sometimes purely German, as in the case of Austria proper, Salzburg, Steiermark, Kärnten, Krain, and Silesia; in Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Kärnten, and Dalmatia it retains the original spelling of the Italian names, and in Dalmatia sometimes preserves the Slavic orthography of Slavic names, sometimes spells them according to the Ger-

man pronunciation; in Bohemia and Mähren its practice is the same towards the Czech; in Galicia it generally follows the Slavic orthography; in Bukowina, with its mixture of German, Slavic, and Rumanian elements, it has no recognizable system; but in Hungary, Slavonia, and on the Military Border it puts side by side the Magyar and the German orthography with sufficient uniformity. That the map of Turkey presents like and still greater difficulties need not be stated.

—Of the periodical articles already referred to, one may profitably read a series of papers begun in the *Geographical Magazine* for September by David Ker, under the general title, "Along the Turkish Border." Mr. Ker is a graphic writer, and is not always to be depended upon for his facts; but if this be borne in mind whenever he talks of matters that have not come under his observation, his readers may learn much more than they will need to unlearn. In his first paper he gives a forcible picture of the Bulgarian marshes and their inhabitants, and then takes a voyage up the Danube by the Sulina channel as far as Widin, making comments on Servia and Rumania as he passes. His political point of view appears to be anti-Russian rather than pro-Turkish, for if he allows himself to speak of Turkey's present antagonists as "the congregated jackals of the Danube," he, on the other hand, includes Turkey along with Persia, Rumania, Servia, and other Eastern nations in the general remark that "the very few educated and gentlemanly men whom they possess" are "sent abroad as envoys and accredited agents, while the tattered, filthy, bigoted, murderous savages that comprise the bulk of the population are kept snugly at home." "Lazy, dirty, ignorant, superstitious, half-beggar and half-brigand," he says again, referring to the "low-browed Bulgarian peasant." One would like to abate something from so sweeping a judgment, but the same thing is affirmed by a writer, John Oxenford, in *Macmillan's Magazine* for August. After saying that "the Bulgarian brigand, according to the lays of his own people, is a ruffian so thoroughly atrocious and ignoble that it would be hard to find his parallel," and that he would be pelted from the stage in a London transport theatre, he adds that "the explanation of his popularity at home is to the effect that, with all his faults, he is not very different in principle from the peasants who listen to records of his exploits." And yet, "he who could paint a Bulgarian robber more black than he is painted by a Bulgarian bard, must discover a pigment hitherto unknown." "A Lincolnshire 'rough,' vaunting how often he had stamped out the features of a fellow-man with a hob-nail shoe, might find a school of poetry akin to that of the robber-bard of Bulgaria." A number of metrical extracts cited for the purpose by Mr. Oxenford only too well bear out this view. An English lady who spent five years (1837-72) as a governess in a harem in Constantinople, writes on "Turkish Ways and Turkish Women" in the September *Cornhill*. The harem in question "comprised some two hundred women, distributed amongst three households under three wives, five or six slave mothers having apartments in the houses of one or other of the wives, and being virtually under their supervision." The rest were merely slaves in various degrees. The etiquette and decorum of the harem, which the Pasha could not walk across without the attendance of a eunuch; the relative rank of wives, slave-mothers, and their offspring; the social intercourse of the wives; a dinner party; the education of girls; the isolation of the sexes and the utter subjection of the women—are some of the topics treated of in this interesting paper. We must not overlook the pleasing description of a Turkish family which is really a home, containing, it is needless to add, a single wife and mother. Such homes are rare, but they are, we are told, more numerous than might be supposed.

—Mr. Walter Besant, in his "French Humorists," having strangely omitted all mention of Piron, has supplied the omission in an article in a late number of *Temple Biv*. Alexis Piron was a writer of comedies and tragedies, a maker of verses and epigrams, the inventor of *opéra comique*, and—in his own day and in the estimation of his own friends—the rival of Voltaire. The competition was hardly fair; Voltaire was a courtly Parisian, Piron had the taint of the country; Voltaire's "Zaïre" was more successful even than Piron's "Gustave Vasa," which Mr. Besant calls a success on p. 500 and a failure on p. 502; and to cap the climax, although Piron lived to be eighty, Voltaire survived him. Few of Voltaire's many plays are alive now and all of Piron's, with one exception, are so dead that no attempt is ever made to revive them. "La Métromanie" alone is seen infrequently on the stage. It is also studied in some schools; how the scholars like it we have no means of knowing, but even for those who are accustomed to the French dramatic literature of the last century it is hard reading. To emphasize the contrast between Voltaire and Piron, the former was a member of the Academy, the latter was not; indeed,

Piron is probably only recalled by most general readers in connection with his epitaph on himself:

C'est Piron, qui ne fut rien,
Par même Académicien.

In the Academy he could only fill that Forty-first chair whose history M. Hon-saye has given us: from the Forty he—like Théophile Gautier—was for ever excluded by one of the works of his youth, written apparently under the idea that the poet's license gave liberty to be licentious. But he revenged himself for his exclusion by a rattling shower of sharp-pointed jests, one of the best of which Mr. Besant omits. He suggested the substitution of simpler ceremonies for the *discours de réception*; the newly-elected member should say on taking his seat: "Messieurs, je vous remercie!" To which the Académiciens, rising and bowing, would reply: "Monsieur, il n'y a pas de quoi."

DANIEL DERONDA *

I.

D'ANIEL DERONDA' has for months interested, excited—and disappointed all readers of English on either side the Atlantic. It were vain to analyze a story every turn of which has been the subject of constant conversation in every circle of educated persons throughout England and America. It is not, again, a critic's duty to give expression to mere individual sentiments of liking or dislike, and add another voice to the senseless babble of the ten thousand readers, each of whom repeats, with more or less variation, the unmeaning remarks, "How I hate Grandcourt!" "How I adore Mirah!" "Do you like Gwendolen?" or, "Are you not bored by Mordecai?" A reviewer's object should be to form some rational estimate of the merits no less than of the defects of the book, and explain the sentiment at once of admiration and of disappointment which it leaves on the minds of impartial readers.

The most important matter for an intelligent reviewer is to keep clearly before his mind the fact that 'Daniel Deronda,' whatever its shortcomings, is a work of genius and originality such as no living English writer but its author could have produced. Had it been the work of an unknown novelist it would have made his reputation. Had it appeared say twenty or twenty-five years ago, it would have gained, if not the wide popularity, certainly the fame acquired by the writer of 'Adam Bede.' It possesses in a marked, one might perhaps say in an exaggerated, form the features which from the first have distinguished George Eliot's writings. The book is open to criticism, but its demerits, such as they are, become apparent only when it is tried, as it ought to be, by the high standard of its author's own best productions. The carping criticism which attempts to treat a defective work of genius as if it were a commonplace performance is completely disposed of by one fact: 'Daniel Deronda' has for nearly a year excited an interest such as no novelist but George Eliot now knows how to kindle. On this point the only appeal is to the experience of our readers. Is it not a fact that Gwendolen's character has been analyzed in every drawing-room with the care with which most persons weigh the characters only of their intimate associates? Was not her marriage as interesting to many persons as the wedding of a private friend? Have there not been hundreds of readers who have invented for themselves the catastrophe to which her marriage was to lead up? Is it not almost as certain that George Eliot must have been pestered by requests to break off the engagement between Gwendolen and Grandcourt as it is that Richardson was harassed by correspondents who prayed hard for the life of Clarissa? There can be but one answer to these questions, and this answer decides once and for all that 'Daniel Deronda,' whether you are satisfied with the book as a whole or not, is a work of first-rate power. It is not given to anything but genius to make the world thrill with interest over the fate of imaginary beings.

That George Eliot's last novel leaves in many minds a sense of disappointment is to us an undoubted fact; but this dissatisfaction certainly does not spring from the absence in it of the qualities which placed the author of 'Adam Bede' in the first rank of writers of fiction. The book betrays no want of power. The interview of Deronda with his mother, or Gwendolen's confession, has at least as much intensity as anything which has come from George Eliot's hands. The Meyrick family may stand side by side with the picture of Caleb Garth and his household as a sketch of home life. Sir Hugh, Lady Mallinger, and, above all, Klesmer and Miss Arrowpoint, are additions to the number of portraits with which George Eliot has enriched the literature of English romance.

To Klesmer and his wife, indeed, particular attention should be directed. Their story is a mere fragmentary episode, not telling directly on the main plot of the novel. It is apparently introduced to set off, by way of contrast, the baseness committed by Gwendolen in accepting Grandcourt. But it is an episode which for humor and insight is comparable to the best thing in 'Middlemarch.' For if George Eliot disappoints her readers, it is not from any lack of the peculiar humor which they have been led to look for. There is not, indeed, the same superabundant overflow of wit which is to be found in the conversation of Mrs. Poyser, but a person who does not see the whole insight and sense of humor displayed in the description of Klesmer's call on the Meyricks will probably not greatly appreciate any part of George Eliot's writings. Nor, again, is the keen moral insight which gives half their impressiveness to our author's works wanting in her last production. The profound influence for good or bad of one character over another is in a sense the theme of the whole book. Deronda's mere glance checks Gwendolen's career at the gambling-table, and brings her conscience to life. Grandcourt's absolute selfishness depresses the moral nature of every person with whom he comes in contact. Mordecai inspires Deronda with his own enthusiasm. The crowning scene of the whole tale commemorates the triumph of the spirit of a dead father over the will of his living daughter. The seventh number of the book, which might well have been the last, describes the crisis in the life both of Daniel and of Gwendolen to which the whole story leads up, and the whole of this marvellous number contains nothing more wonderful than the art with which the reader is made to perceive that the Princess and her father shared, under all their opposition to each other, essentially the same character. The relentless will of the old Charisi reappears in the Princess, and the selfishness of the daughter casts back a light on the despotic imperiousness of her father. The interview between son and mother ought to be read and re-read by all who wish to enter into the characteristics of George Eliot's genius. Fragments detached from a perfect whole are always unsatisfactory, but the two following passages are fine specimens of our author's latest work.

The first contains the description given by the Princess herself of her own character:

"But," she added, in a deeper tone, "I am not a loving woman. That is the truth. It is a talent to love—I lacked it. Others have loved me—and I have acted their love. I know very well what love makes of men and women—it is subjection. It takes another for a larger self, enclosing this one—she pointed to her own bosom. 'I never was willingly subject to any man. Men have been subject to me.'"

In the second the same character is analyzed by George Eliot:

"The speech was in fact a piece of what may be called sincere acting: this woman's nature was one in which all feeling—and all the more when it was tragic as well as real—immediately became matter of conscious representation: experience immediately passed into drama, and she acted her own emotions. In a minor degree this is nothing uncommon, but in the Princess the acting had a rare, perfection of physiognomy, voice, and gesture. It would not be true to say that she felt less because of this double consciousness: she felt—that is, her mind went through—all the more, but with a difference: each nucleus of pain or pleasure had a deep atmosphere of the excitement or spiritual intoxication which at once exalts and deadens."

Put side by side with this the sentences in which Gwendolen concludes her confession:

"The rope!" he called out in a voice—not his own—I hear it now—and I stooped for the rope—I felt I must—I felt sure he could swim, and he would come back whether or not, and I dreaded him. That was in my mind—he would come back. But he was gone down again, and I had the rope in my hand—no, there he was again—his face above the water—and he cried again—and I held my hand, and my heart said, 'Die!'—and he sank: and I felt, 'It is done—I am wicked, I am lost!'—and I had the rope in my hand—I don't know what I thought—I was leaping away from myself—I would have saved him then. I was leaping from my crime, and there it was—close to me as I fell—there was the dead face—dead, dead. It can never be altered. That was what happened. That was what I did. You know it all. It can never be altered."

No one who reads these passages will dream for a moment that George Eliot's hand has lost its cunning or that those who devoured her last work need justify their admiration for it. The fact, however, that 'Daniel Deronda' has disappointed even those whom it has fascinated is apparent, if proof were wanted, from the constantly repeated assertion that it contains most striking passages; for to single out particular beauties for admiration is almost to imply that the beauty of a composition is doubtful. Some of the causes of disappointment are not hard to find. The very name of the book points to a misunderstanding between the readers and the author. They cared for Gwendolen Harleth. The writer's interest centred or was

* 'Dan d' Deronda' By George Eliot. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Bros.

meant to centre on Daniel Deronda. George Eliot's readers were interested in the fate of Gwendolen, and not one in a hundred cared whether Daniel did or did not turn out to be a Jew and become inspired with Mordecai's enthusiasm. George Eliot's interests were evoked by the position of the Jews and the character of Daniel. An infinity of labor and skill has been expended in order to bring readers round to the writer's point of view, and to enlist their interest for Mordecai and Mordecai's dreams or principles. Judaism is first shown us embodied in all the grace and charm of Mirah. An introduction to the Cohens serves to set forth the marvellous contrast between the sordid details of actual life and the ideal visions of a prophetic nature. The Cohen family, moreover, give a touch of life and humor to what might otherwise seem an unsubstantial dream. The dialogue at the debating club sets Mordecai's principles in as clear a shape as any in which perhaps they can be exhibited. The reader, like Deronda himself, is thus with extraordinary art led up to a position from which he may look with sympathetic admiration on the prophet who dies satisfied with the conviction that he has found a disciple, and with the words on his lips, "Where thou goest, Daniel, I shall go. Is it not begun? Have I not breathed my soul into you? We shall live together." The skill with which George Eliot has labored to enlist the reader's sympathy for Mordecai is wonderful. It lacks nothing to excite our complete admiration but success. For, to speak the honest truth, the immense *tour de force* ends in failure. The pain of Gwendolen at parting from Deronda touches the feelings of a hundred readers for one who is moved by Mordecai's dreams of a new return of his race to Jerusalem. Is the fault here with George Eliot or with George Eliot's readers? We do not undertake to answer the question. To do so with any completeness would involve an investigation into difficult moral problems. That there is in George Eliot's mind a feeling if not a principle as to the sacredness of race, which at any rate does not necessarily approve itself to the moral judgment, is clear. It is further clear that this sentiment has, in the 'Spanish Gypsy' no less than in 'Daniel Deronda,' jarred on the feelings of those most susceptible to George Eliot's influence.

In one respect, at all events, the judgment of the public is clearly justifiable. Sufferings or difficulties exceptional in circumstances and in nature ought not to evoke the same interest as are aroused by miseries or perplexities which appeal to wide human experience. It is in this that 'Middlemarch' rises so much above 'Daniel Deronda.' The half-tragedy of Dorothea's life, and the complete intellectual ruin of Lydgate, each depend on causes of wide operation. The circumstances of each are peculiar, but there are hundreds of women who have made shipwreck of happiness because they have endowed some commonplace man with imaginary virtues; and in every town or county there must be found Lydgates who have missed their vocation through the combined unkindness of circumstances and weakness of their own will. The key-note of 'Middlemarch'—the misery of a missed career—is one to which many minds can respond but too easily. The same thing is true of all George Eliot's greater works. 'Romola,' it is true, deals with a distant time and past state of society, but the essence of 'Romola' is eternal. The selfishness of Tito, the nobility of his wife, the religious influence of a great teacher, are reproduced under varying forms in every age. The same holds good in a measure with regard to the fall and the awakening of Gwendolen, but does not apply to the difficulties of Deronda or the struggles of Mordecai. The novel, again, is deficient in any character which is at once alive and heroic. Daniel and Mordecai are no doubt meant to be of an heroic mould; but whoever puts Romola and Savonarola side by side with Deronda and Mordecai will see the difference between life-like painting and labored description, and admit that there is at any rate some reason for feeling that a work which would have made the reputation of any other writer is not on a level with the best creations of George Eliot's genius.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW FOR OCTOBER.

THAT the *Review* has been passing through a severe internal convulsion is proved by a notice from the publisher, under the table of contents, that "the editors have retired from the management on account of a difference of opinion with the proprietors as to the political character of this number," and that the proprietors, "to avoid indefinite delay in publication," have allowed the number to stand as it is, "without, however, committing the *Review* to the opinions expressed therein." This will probably whet the curiosity of the public as to "the political character of this number." It consists of an article on the "Southern Question," by Mr. William Henry Trescott, a well-known South Carolinian, based on Mr. Lamar's late speech in Congress, and Mr. Garfield's counter speech; another giving

a history of Mr. Bristow's operations against the Whiskey Ring, by General H. V. Boynton, of Washington; a review of Von Holst's 'History of the United States,' by Messrs. Henry Adams and H. C. Lodge; a history of the closing period of the rising against the New York Ring, by Mr. Wingate; and, finally, an anonymous article, generally ascribed to Mr. Charles Francis Adams, jr., on the position of "The Independents in the Canvass," and then there are the usual literary notices.

We confess that the number seems to us the most interesting which has appeared for some time, and that we see a peculiar fitness in devoting it in the Centennial year, and in the midst of the Presidential canvass, to the questions which are at this juncture of most importance, and in which the public is rightly most interested—political questions. That the literature or science of the United States, or of any country, can be separated permanently or indefinitely from its politics; that the culture of the country does not influence the Government and the Government influence the culture; that the considerations under which a man votes or refrains from voting do not powerfully affect his relations to all fields of human activity, and color his view of nearly everything that is of most moment in our social life, are notions which we trust are now generally confined to "Americans in Paris." If these notions are unfounded, it is most desirable that the one periodical in the country which has space for the purpose, and which has the needed hold on the public attention, should admit an educated and reasonable Southerner to say his say in its columns on the condition of the South, at present the most vexed problem of Northern politics. What Northern politicians think about it is tolerably well known. What men like Mr. Trescott—once, we believe, an extreme Secessionist—now think about it is not only interesting but very useful. And we make bold to say that if there be any duty specially incumbent on Northern editors at this crisis with regard to the selection of their contributors, it is the duty of encouraging Southern participation in the discussion of the general questions of the day on ground common to both sections. The South was for fifty years sacrificed both intellectually and morally to slavery. Its politics, its morals, its theology, its jurisprudence and philosophy, were all colored by slavery, until Southern men had almost forgotten how to argue about anything but the negro, or to think on any subject except in its relations to the negro; and finally it came to pass that Northerners and Englishmen and Frenchmen listened to Southern orators and read Southern books and magazines rather as curiosities than as serious contributions to the mental activity of the day. To draw Southern writers now into the common arena, and accustom them to reason on terms of equality with other civilized men, on the ordinary social postulates of the rest of Christendom, is to make a most valuable addition to the intellectual stores of the country, and help powerfully in that real reconstruction which we must all one day hope to see succeed "carpet bag" reconstruction.

The article on Dr. Von Holst's book, which has been already reviewed in these columns, is a good résumé and criticism of the views of one of the ablest of foreign writers on American affairs as to the growth of the Constitution under the influence of State sovereignty and slavery. The articles on the Whiskey Ring and the "Episode in Municipal Government," on the other hand, are most valuable narratives of two successful assaults—in many respects the most interesting of recent political history—on systems of organized corruption carried on by or in collusion with the officers of the Government. Every American who aims at being useful to his country at this crisis ought to be familiar with both of them. About the "Independents in the Canvass," which has probably been the principal cause of the disagreement between the editors and publishers, we have spoken elsewhere.

If we cannot have the kind of quarterly review in which numbers like this can occasionally appear, and which has no official or "authorized" answer to give to political any more than to social or literary questions, in which criticism on all subjects is free, and in which the commercial interest of the proprietor will not outweigh the intellectual interest of the editor, it is highly desirable that this species of periodical should become extinct among us, though it would be a great misfortune for the country. The first and greatest of quarterly reviews, and, indeed, the father of them all, was made a power in the state, and a greater power even in politics than in literature, by the fact that it was wholly in the hands of the men who edited and wrote for it, and expressed their opinions and those of nobody else. It could not otherwise have borne the noble part which it did bear in correcting the enormous abuses which ravaged English government and society at the close of the last century—an age in which "jobbery and corruption, long supreme in the state, had even triumphed over the virtue of the Church." We have in the United States at this moment an abundance of literary periodicals, and plenty of literary and art critics,

good, bad, and indifferent. We have, too, a great many newspapers given up to political discussion. But there is not a single magazine of a high class in which a careful political article by a competent thinker and observer, treating the situation of the day in a purely scientific spirit and without reference to its effects on party fortunes, can find a place. The leading daily papers are now, almost without exception, commercial enterprises through which the pecuniary, if not the political, fortunes of the proprietor are linked to those of one or other of the great parties in the political field. An article rarely appears in them on political questions which has a purely intellectual motive. Everything which does appear is weighed and scrutinized as to its possible effect on the prospects of the political organization with which the proprietor has chosen to connect himself, and is rarely subjected to any other test. The effect of this, too, on the public mind has been debauching to a degree which nothing but long use prevents seeming hideous. A Presidential "campaign" like the one we are passing through seems to dissolve the moral bonds of the community almost as effectively as an actual war. Espionage, falsehood, ambuscade, and nearly all the other shifts of active military service are resorted to without shame or scruple by ordinarily honorable men. You must say, if possible, what will help the good side, even if you strain the truth a little; you must not say what will not help it or will hinder it, even if you have to suppress the truth. You have to affect a certain belief in the most outrageous falsehoods, and affect disbelief in undeniable truths, and, generally, for four or five months devote yourself to perusing and laying before your family a series of elaborate misrepresentations, evasions, glorifications and belittlings, and unfair suggestions, and pretending to swallow them under shelter of the belief that in this way some great public good will, at some time not fixed and in some place not designated, be brought about through the instrumentality of men, most of whom you would not trust in any commercial transaction.

We do not pretend that this devilry can be stopped by one agency, or that the daily press is, on the whole, much worse than the public calls for. But we do think that the spirit which pervades the campaign operations might be bettered, and the taste of the public, and especially the younger portion of the public, improved, and the rôle of the professional politician as we now see him made more difficult, if there were somewhere in the country a magazine in which thoughtful men could say on questions of government *à la longue haine* what they have to say, in as complete indifference to the possible effect of their writing on "practical politics" as the chemist when he writes for a scientific periodical. The *North American Review* has for some years furnished such a resource, though its publication in the midst of a small society has always somewhat impeded it in the discharge of the true functions of a quarterly. It has, in short, in some degree been doing for us the work which the *Fortnightly* and the *Contemporary Review* are doing for English society, and what the *Revue des Deux Mondes* does for the French, the value of which can hardly be overestimated. If it is, in consequence of the recent change, going to become more orthodox, and to consider more carefully the effect of its utterances on the fortunes of the candidate of the hour, it will be a great misfortune, and the better portion of the public will hardly be consoled by the knowledge that its politics have the approval of the estimable publishing firm which owns it.

Die ungedeckte Banknote und die Alternativ-Währung. Von Johann Phil. Schneider in Bremen. (Berlin: Carl Habel; New York: L. W. Schmidt. 1876.)—That the United States will be compelled to arrive at specie payments through contraction in the volume of the currency is not questioned by those who know anything of the subject. But two preliminary questions of vital importance have hardly as yet been raised: by what arrangement can we not only bring gold to par, but keep it there with the least possible contraction and therefore disaster? and upon what system of currency do we propose to do business in future? It may safely be asserted that the West will never consent to go back to the State-bank system, and it behooves those who seek to wean that section from its beloved greenback to offer some well-digested plan for saving it from that "nether abyss" of which it retains such bitter remembrance. But this question is by no means confined to the United States. The depression in business which reigns in Europe as well as here, though partly owing to the fear of war, is very largely to be ascribed to uncertainties of currency, both in the relation of silver to gold and the regulation of paper issues. Russia, Austria, and Italy are contending with inconvertible paper; Germany has started a complex system as to the working of which only time can testify; Great Britain is laboring under an enormously inflated banking system; France, which might be supposed to

be worst off, really seems to be the best, partly on account of the very limited development of banking properly so-called, and partly because its currency is in that happiest condition of human affairs under a practical despotism, in the hands of a man of unusual ability, integrity, and knowledge of his business.

The English currency is based upon what was asserted to be a scientific principle—viz., that it would operate exactly as if composed entirely of specie, or as if every pound-sterling note was backed by the same amount of specie. This currency has stood the test of the Crimean war and the Indian mutiny, of three severe financial crises, besides three considerable European wars in which Great Britain took no part. During this time the Issue Department has never held less than eight millions sterling of gold, open to the demands of anybody who could present a note, and there has never been a run or even a ripple at that department. The idea is imperfectly reflected in the German Imperial Bank law, and the real principle was either never arrived at or entirely missed. The result is that, besides the English attacks on the Act of 1844, the battle rages in Germany with all the virulence of which the subject is so prolific. Mr. Schneider is a bullionist *pur sang*, and, while he utterly condemns the German law, is equally eager to expose the fallacy of the English. It is well known that the English never do anything on pure theory: all their improvements must be engrafted upon existing practice; hence, unfortunately, the want of complete separation in name as well as in fact between the Issue and the Banking Departments of the Bank of England, which has led to all sorts of errors in confounding two institutions having, except as to common ownership, nothing more to do with each other than the Post-office and the Mint. Mr. Schneider, in common with Mr. Sayd, Prof. Price, and other economists, begins by considering the active circulation as including the notes of the Issue Department, minus the reserve in the Banking Department. But Lord Overstone pointed out—that which nothing can be more certain—that the notes in the Banking Department are the most active of all because they sustain the deposit system of the London banks. One might with much more reason deduct the notes in the vault of a country bank, or those in the pocket of a Smithfield drover, or of a passenger in an Atlantic steamer. The active circulation includes *all notes outside of the Issue Department*, and only on this basis can the Bank Act be intelligently discussed. That Act does not prevent panics or fluctuations in the rate of interest, but it does hold the currency firmly to a specie basis, and by virtue of that quality has upheld an amount of kite-flying in bank credit which without such an anchor would long since have landed Great Britain among the countries which are enjoying inconvertible paper. It is the more important that the principle of that Act should be understood here because, in the judgment of Englishmen who understand it (and who, by the way, care very little for the attacks upon it, being quite satisfied so long as it retains possession of the field), it offers the most available means for this country to return to specie payments and establish a sound and stable system of currency. The German bank law differs from the English, first, in allowing extra issues of uncovered notes by payment of five per cent. interest to the state, a rate which theorists think altogether too low to prevent excessive issues, though this point may be left to time to determine. The main difference, however, is in the failure to separate currency from banking, a measure of which we cannot now discuss the effects, but which is the foundation and essence of the English system. Feeling that the supply of gold is insufficient to allow every nation to cover all its note issues, Mr. Schneider is almost perforce a pronounced advocate of the double standard, and what he has to say on this subject may properly receive attention from the Congressional Commission now sitting.

* * Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Berkey (W. A.), The Money Question.	(Grand Rapids, Mich.)
Capes (W. W.), Roman History: The Early Empire.	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) \$1 00
Creighton (Louise), Life of Edward, the Black Prince.	(Rivingtons)
Creighton (M.), Life of Simon de Montfort.	(Rivingtons)
De Vinne (T. L.), The Invention of Printing, Part IV., swd.	(Francis Hart & Co.)
Devey (Rev. O.), Sermons.	(James Miller)
Dickens (C.), Our Mutual Friend: Condensed Classics.	(Henry Holt & Co.) 1 00
Dwight (Dr. T.), Anatomy of the Head.	(Hurd & Houghton) 2 50
Farquharson (Martha), Elsie's Motherhood.	(Dodd, Mead & Co.)
Freeman (E. A.), History and Conquests of the Saracens, 2d ed.	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 75
Huges (W. F.), Algebra Self-taught.	(E. & F. N. Spon) 1 00
Huxley (T. H.), Elementary Biology, 2d ed.	(Macmillan & Co.) 2 00
Krieger (Matilda H.), Friedrich Froebel.	(E. Steiger) 50
Littell's Living Age, July-Sept., 1876.	(Littell & Gay)
Macleod (Rev. D.), Memoir of Norman Macleod, D.D.	(R. Worthington)
Mühl (H.), Der Boden und seine Bestimmung, swd.	(L. W. Schmidt)
Monroe (Mrs. L. B.), The Story of Our Country.	(Lockwood, Brooks & Co.) 1 50
Roe (Rev. E. P.), Near to Nature's Heart: a Tale.	(Dodd, Mead & Co.) 1 75
Smith (A.), Reminiscences of the Texas Republic, swd.	(Galveston)
Spear (Rev. S. T.), Religion and the State.	(Dodd, Mead & Co.)
Tollin (Rev. H.), Charakterbild Michael Servet's, swd.	(L. W. Schmidt)

